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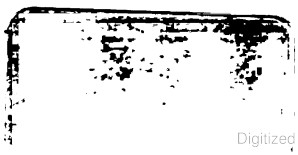

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To my Nephew Lawrence
Neville Salis Blakelock

A Joint Xmas Gift from
Mother & Uncle, with all
Good Wishes, & Permanent
Reminder of their Love.

Sadbergh Army & Navy Sea
Xmas 1924
W. Lancaster Taylor

C O
(Sadbergh)
Taylor

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THE RIGHT REV. THE LORD BISHOP OF DURHAM

(SUCCESSOR TO BISHOP PUDSEY, FIRST EARL OF SADBERGE).

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THE HISTORY OF SADBERGE

Dedicated, by permission, to the Lord Bishop of Durham, successor to Bishop Pudsey, the first Earl of Sadberge, 1189.

BY THE

Rev. W. LANCASTER TAYLOR, M.A.

RECTOR 1887-1911,

WITH THE ASSISTANCE AND COLLABORATION OF
THE LATE REV. AUSTIN R. TAYLOR, M.A. OXON.,
AND THE REV. DR. LEATHLEY, OXON.

WITH FOREWORD WRITTEN BY THE
LORD BISHOP OF DURHAM.

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FOREWORD.

MY friend the author of the present work kindly desires from me a few prefatory words. He has been good enough to inscribe to me, as Bishop of Durham, this record of an ancient and distinguished Cure within the diocese. It is a personal pleasure to me to respond by a cordial tribute to Mr. Taylor's untiring energy and careful labour of research and authorship, a labour, as I well know, of genuine love.

To him the Parish of Sadberge has long formed "*Pars Magna*" of his antiquarian as well as of his pastoral interests. I say confidently that no man living knows the past of historic Sadberge as he does, or could bring more vivid and affectionate zeal to the study and the record of the past. From the dawn of British History till this day he has found the line of the story of the place continuous, and I am sure that no reader, to whom "the search of our fathers," and of the immortal vitality of the Christian Church is dear, will fail to thank my friend for his illuminating guidance along that line.

HANDLEY DUNELM.

AUCKLAND CASTLE,
March 27th, 1917.

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PREFACE.

THE task of writing the history of Sadberge requires antiquarian knowledge to which I lay no claim. The difficulty is that nothing can be quoted as the history of Sadberge, its story lying embedded in that of the early Briton, conquering Roman, Anglo-Saxon, and Norman aggressors. When Bishop Moorhouse in 1887 appointed me to the Rectory of that Parish, I had no idea that it was "an ancient and distinguished Cure." The fabric of the Church was a modern and mean structure dating from the early Victorian period. In the village, little visibly exists which points to its antiquity.

This history is sent forth, in the language of Southey :—

"Go, little history, from this my solitude.
I cast thee on the waters—
Go thy ways:
And if, as I believe, thy vein is good,
The world will find thee after many days.
Be it with thee, according to thy worth;
Go, little book! In faith I send thee forth."

WILLIAM LANCASTER TAYLOR.

"SADBERGE,"
ST. ANNE'S-ON-SEA.

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REV. CANON GREENWELL, D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A.

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CHAPTER I.

Early Britons and Sadberge.

In 1864 Murray's "Handbook of Durham," describing Sadberge, says: "The village is now quite insignificant and bears no traces of its former greatness." The "Saturday Half-Holiday Guide" (by Bousfield) speaks of Sadberge as "This now insignificant village."

Formerly the traveller walking from Darlington to Stockton did not pass through the village, as a little east of Great Burdon the road to Stockton branched to the left by Burdon Hall, and crossed the Rykeneild Street at "Cat Kill," fully half a mile from Sadberge. The new road between Stockton and Darlington passes through the village, crossing the Rykeneild Street close to the site of the ancient county Pinfold. The village itself bears few signs of its historic antiquity. Its buildings are chiefly brick ones, and mostly modern. But ancient ones are to be found by seeking. They can be traced in stone foundations and vaulted cellars, as in the "Three Tuns" and the "Butcher's Shop" (the cellar under which latter is probably the ancient prison); and in the cellar of Prospect House. Not only have the ancient buildings disappeared, but even its ancient Norman church—the stones of which now adorn the east bank of the river Skerne, from Crown Street to the Stone Bridge in Darlington. And in the kitchen of the "Glittering Star" could be found two carved stones, one Saxon and another probably of the twelfth century, both of which are now in the walls of the new porch of Sadberge Church. It was through such vandalism that this historic place became "an insignificant village." The present church occupies a magnificent site but only dates from 1881.

In contrast to its present meanness, the Sadberge of Bishop Pudsey was known to king and baron. And to-day it still retains a unique position; for when the King's Assize is summoned to the City of Durham the County of

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Sadberge is also summoned—a reminder of its ancient status, it being older than the ancient and loyal City of Durham itself. Here dwelt the early Britons; here the warlike Roman made his camp and street (fortified alike by position and art); here the fair-haired Anglo-Saxon held his wapentake; whilst the invading Norman made it a manor, embracing probably the land between Tyne and Tees. Thus it may be said that in Sadberge you have a synopsis of English history—Briton, Roman, Anglo-Saxon and conquering Norman all having made their contribution to the place.

Are there any proofs of the early Britons being linked with Sadberge?

I give two letters written to me by Canon Greenwell, the well-known antiquarian:—

DURHAM,
November 18th, 1895.

DEAR MR. TAYLOR,

I am going to give you a little trouble, which I am sure you will take without grumbling, though I have some doubt if there will be any result.

The late Dr. Hooppell, of Byers Green, bought of an innkeeper, I think at Sadberge, but if not, somewhere near it, an iron sword in a bronze sheath found in a sandpit in the neighbourhood. I shall be very much obliged if you can trace it out—I mean when it was found, and if anything like bones were found with it. It is now some ten years since he got it, or it may have been a year or two further back.

Yours sincerely,
W. GREENWELL.

DURHAM,
December 4th, 1895.

DEAR MR. TAYLOR,

I am much obliged for the information about the sword and its sheath.

I have little doubt that it accompanied an interment, the remains of which, as in such material as sand, would have entirely disappeared long before the discovery of the metal things.

Similar swords and sheaths have occurred associated with a burial. In several instances they belong to the period to which the term early iron or late keltic has been applied, and their date is about the year one of our era, possibly a hundred years before, or the same time after that date.

There is no chance of its ever going to Sadberge, for the price asked for it is £20 or more. Indeed, Mrs. Hooppell will not say what she will take.

It is not in my possession, but is at Burlington House, in the rooms of the Society of Antiquaries, at a meeting of which body it was exhibited.

Believe me,
Yours very faithfully,
W. GREENWELL.

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My investigation led to the following results: About the year 1880 a new bridge was being erected at Barmpton, not far from Sadberge. The masons and labourers returned to the village after a day's work to sleep. One day they dug up a mysterious piece of metal in a sheath, the intrinsic value of which they did not know. On their way home they called at the "Three Tuns," and shewed their find to Mr. John Smith, the venerable landlord. Neither he nor they had any idea of its antiquity or value.

"Well, lads," said Boniface, "I will give you a glass each for it." They drank their prize, and Smith became the possessor of this sheathed sword. He cleaned the sheath and kept his treasure. Dr. Hooppell, a well-known antiquarian and Rector of Byers Green, heard of the find, and paid a visit to the inn. He was an extreme teetotaller, and it must have been a powerful lodestone to draw him into a village public-house. He examined the relic and wished to buy it. Smith owned the "Three Tuns" and was not impecunious, and he did not wish to sell. But when the Doctor offered £1 for it, Smith regarded it as such an extravagant price that he accepted the offer and allowed the Doctor to take it with him to Byers Green Rectory, where it remained till his death. Its actual value was, as we have seen, very considerably more. The sword was then offered to the British Museum, in 1896. The authorities, after careful examination, considered it to be the sword of an early British prince, and though it was slightly damaged (probably by the excavators), they paid the representatives of Dr. Hooppell £25. It has been cleaned and mounted and is now in the Department of Antiquities, where it can be seen by applying to Mr. Read, the curator, whose kindness enables me to give a picture of sheath and sword as they are now. He also gives the proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries, November 21st, 1895, relating to this relic.

[*From the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries, November* 21st, 1895.]

The Rev. WILLIAM GREENWELL, D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A., exhibited a late-Celtic sword and sheath found at Sadberge, co. Durham, upon which Charles Hercules Read, Esq., Secretary, read the following notes:

"The sword upon the table was sent to me for exhibition by our Fellow, the Rev. Canon Greenwell, who has written to request that it be described as shown by Mrs. Hooppell, the widow of the late owner, the Rev. R. E. Hooppell, LL.D. The only information as to its discovery is that it was found about 1880 by some masons engaged in repairing a bridge at Barmpton, near Sadberge, in the county of Durham. It was thought of so little account that it lay on a heap for some days.

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"As will readily be seen on examining the sword, it belongs to the interesting and not too large class of late-Celtic antiquities, examples of which are from time to time brought to the notice of the Society. Of these the most remarkable in recent times are the two brooches found at Æsica, upon which Mr. Arthur Evans read a very exhaustive paper, and the more varied remains from Aylesford described by the same able hand in *Archæologia*, vol. lii.

"The paper to which I would, however, refer chiefly is that by the President in vol. xlv of *Archæologia*, as being exclusively concerned with swords of this class. The paper was written as a description of a sword found at Catterdale, in Yorkshire, but the President took the opportunity of describing as a part of the paper the whole of the swords of the same period then known to exist. The list shows that weapons of the kind have been found practically all over the British Islands. At the same time, however, it would appear that some parts of the country had types of their own, differing in detail from those in use in other districts, pointing doubtless to a difference in tribe or possibly in date. The type common in the Thames finds is a long broad blade, of about the same proportions as the long Saxon sword, with a sheath of much the same character, flat, that is, in general aspect, without any high projections either in the ornament or the fittings. The sword before us is very different from this. In the first place it is very short; the loop for the strap rises boldly and decidedly from the middle of the sheath, and is continued as a sort of rib or strap extending towards both ends of the sheath, where it terminates in a flat plate. The loop is embossed with two crescent-shaped ornaments, suggesting the characteristic eccentric trumpet pattern. The plate forming the other side of the sheath is quite plain. The blade is straight and two-edged, with a strong midrib, the point being still fairly preserved. It does not exhibit any of the careful workmanship often found in the iron work of this period, as for instance in the blades from the Swiss Lakes, and upon one sword from the Thames now in the British Museum, the blade of which is a beautiful example of the skill of the British swordsmith.

"A feature of somewhat unusual occurrence upon these weapons is found in the small guard of solid metal found with this sword. Handles are very rarely found, and even the tang has frequently disappeared; but the bronze guard, if one may call it by that name, is often seen in position at the end of the sheath, its preservation being due to the iron rust having cemented it firmly in its place. The guard is not, however, of the kind now before us, but is a thin strip of metal, usually of an ogee outline, with the two ends rarely extending beyond the sides of the sheath, which is designed to fit the curved form of the guard. In the present case we have a solid piece of bronze with the usual outline at the upper edge, but the lower edge is flat, to fit the shape of the sheath. It is, I think, probable that the pommel of this sword was of some considerable weight, as a heavy counterpoise would be essential to balance the combined weight of the blade and this solid guard. In cases where the complete handle has occurred the pommels are as a rule solid and weighty.

What the chape end of this sheath was like is difficult to say, but seeing that in general type it resembles the Catterdale sword, that from Stanwick,* in Yorkshire, another from the Pentland Hills,† near Edinburgh, and a third from Embleton,‡ near Cockermouth, in Cumberland, we may assume that it had the usual bifid termination, what is commonly called a thumb pattern. The loop in its present

* Kemble, *Horæ Ferales*, pl. xviii. 2.
† Op. cit. pl. xviii. 5.
‡ Op. cit. pl. xviii. 3.

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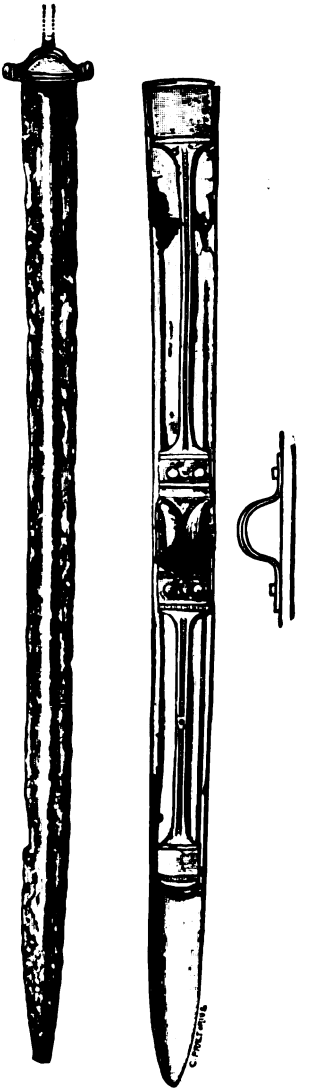

EARLY BRITISH SWORD AND SCABBARD,
FOUND NEAR SADBERGE.

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position resembles also the sheath from Warton, near Lancaster, but of this unfortunately the lower end is wanting. It will be noticed that all these swords are from the north of England, and one even from Scotland, a fact which would lead us to suppose that we have before us a northern type. The Irish representatives are very fragmentary, chiefly scabbard ends, and not at all of the same description."*

Whilst there exist no outward and visible signs that the early Britons were at Sadberge, yet this sword and its scabbard are visible and enduring proof that there is a link between Sadberge and the early Britons.

The first dwellers in the Island were called Britons. The derivation of the name is doubtful. It may be Celtic, from Brith or Brit, meaning painted; and this seems probable, as they stained their bodies with a blue colour extracted from woad. Hence they were called Brithons. However that may be, they were Celts.

Cæsar asserts that the inhabitants of the interior sprang from the soil. The people between the Humber and Tyne were called "Brigantes," mentioned by Tacitus. The Britons have been divided into (1) Scots, (2) Cymry, (3) English. They were warriors, and this sheath and sword shew that some of them resided in or near Sadberge prior to the Roman occupation.

Brigantes is Celtic for mountaineers. They were the people of North Britain, Albus (Humber) to Belisama (according to some, Mersey; to others, Ribble), as far north as the Wall of Antoninus; embracing Lancashire, Yorkshire, Durham, Westmoreland, Cumberland, and part of Northumberland. Their chief town was Eboracum (York), and they first came into contact with the Romans under Claudius, A.D. 40, and later under Vespasian. They were finally subdued under Antoninus Pius. Their goddess was Brigantia, mentioned in Inscriptions. They constantly yielded their territory, and after the withdrawal of the Romans their lands were broken by English settlements. Carlisle early fell to the Angles. Indeed, the Anglo-Saxons made such inroads that Egfrith, in the seventh century, gave Carlisle to the See of Lindisfarne. The last British king was Arthur, who was buried at Glastonbury.

Up to 950, Northumbria, of which at that date Sadberge probably formed part, was governed by Jarls or Earls. The Saxons used the term in a generic sense. The Danes used it absolutely. Earl was supplemented by the title Alderman. From the time of the Anglo-Saxon King Edgar, 958, the Kings and Earls repaired to him as vassals, and

* This sword has since been acquired by the British Museum.

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he may be said to have founded the Anglo-Saxon Kingdom, as Romulus is supposed to have founded Rome. In his time the Earls had many Royal privileges (see Palgrave's History of the Anglo-Saxons). The National Biography (volume 10, page 167) says: "Bishop Hugh of Lincoln was present at the Council of Sadberge and Pipewell." Pipewell is near Northampton. The date of Bishop Hugh is 1186, more than 200 years after King Edgar's Council; but we have been unable to find any record of any Council at Sadberge except this reference.

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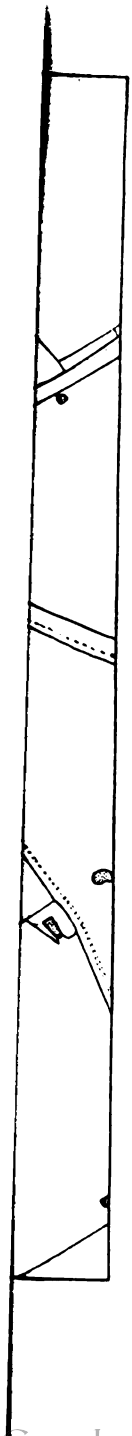

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CHAPTER II.

The Romans and Sadberge.

"Roman Britain was divided into two parts, Northern and Western. The Northern part was occupied by troops; the Western and Southern mainly represented civilian life. These two are marked off, in fact. In the North there are neither towns nor villas. No town or country house has been found beyond Aldborough (Roman *Isurium*), fifteen miles beyond York."*

This being so, whatever signs of Roman occupation at Sadberge there may be, will be of a military character. Let us turn to the village as it is to-day. There exist two signs of Roman occupation—(1) A Roman road, (2) A Roman camp. The late Dr. Eastwood, of Dinsdale Park, in his book on Roman roads, has the following passage:—

"What proof is there that the Romans ever came to Sadberge? The evidence is very visible in the place itself, even after 1,500 years. Rykeneild Street, leading from Pountey's Bridge, ran right through the centre of the village. Rykeneild Street, or Ikeneild Street, came from St. David's to Gloucester, ran through Staffordshire and Derbyshire by Derby and Chesterfield, probably to York, where it would join the Watling Street. From York the course was to Thirsk and Thornton-le-Street, three miles north of Thirsk, and thence its course may be fairly traced through Great Smeaton, Girsby, and Over-Dinsdale, in Yorkshire, to Pountey's Ford. From the Ford, in the county of Durham, and Middleton St. George, it ran by Fighting Cocks, past Street House, to Sadberge. Here was an important military station and town, the key of the district. From Sadberge the road passes straight on to Stainton-on-the-Street. The probable termination was on the Tyne, at or near South Shields, opposite Tynemouth."

It is little wonder that this Roman road exists after 1,500 years, if we consider its formation. "A ditch was dug to the solid earth; this was stamped, rolled or staked; then a floor of sand ten or fifteen centimes thick (a centime is a little over three-eighths of an inch); then a layer of mortar was spread. This was the foundation on which the four courses were laid, composed of siliceous and calcareous

* Haverfield. *Roman Britain.*

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materials, and they were far superior to the highest type of modern work. The main roads averaged four to four and three-quarter metres in width (a metre is about three feet four inches), and the smaller roads were three, or three and a half, metres wide. In mountain roads the width narrowed to a single carriage-way of one and three-quarter metres."

Truly, the Romans made roads for posterity, and no wonder they endured; for they were built of hard binding clay, a layer of flints, then chalk and the surface gravel, and each layer was about six or eight feet thick.

Britain was divided by four main roads which traversed the whole country. They were:—

(1) The Foss, which ran from Lincoln to Cornwall;
(2) Irmin or Hermon Street, which ran from St. David's to Southampton;
(3) Watling Street, which cut through the centre of England, running north through Piercebridge and Bishop Auckland on to Sunderland;
(4) Rykeneild, Ikeneild, or Rikeneild Street, which, beginning at St. David's, ran through Birmingham, Derby and York, north to the county of Durham, over Pountey's Bridge, through Sadberge to Chester-le-Street, and on to Newcastle or Sunderland.

The military station and camp at Sadberge was on this last street. The Roman occupation in the north was of necessity a military one, for they had to keep in subjection the native inhabitants, and to resist the attacks of the Picts and Scots. And what finer military site could be selected than the hill of Sadberge?

Pountey's Bridge. Many of the foundation stones of the bridge were removed and used in buildings at *Middleton St. George.* J. W. Smith, Rector of Dinsdale, gave evidence before the Salmon Commission as to the *removal* of *stones* of Pountey's Bridge. On the Durham side is *Castlelarium*, Tower Hill, and a large enclosure called "The Countess." *Pountey's Lane* was the old road to the bridge. Part of this lane became a swamp, but was levelled *at top*, filling up the bottom slope, making ascent easier. *North* of this lane, in digging a drain in Sadberge Hall land, two feet below the surface, the *old* road was found—Tees-worked stones. Half-a-mile south of Sadberge, in widening a culvert, the surveyor came on a *similar* road, but not so deeply covered with soil as the Hall land was. In preparing the land for *Rectory*, more *extensive* remains of old road found and harder to remove. *Street House*, five-eighths of a mile above Sadberge, derives its name from the Roman Street.

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Pountey's Ford. Two interesting events occurred here: (1) Over this Ford the body of St. Cuthbert was borne by the monks, who journeyed from Ripon, and in their wanderings north, crossed this Ford, ultimately finding a resting-place at Dunelm. The story is recorded in stone, in the north-eastern part of the "Nine Altars" in the "Cow and Milkmaid." (2) Over this Ford Princess Margaret crossed on her way to Scotland, to marry Malcolm Canmore, King of Scotland, 1071.

Whilst in the north of Roman Britain there were neither towns nor villas, Haverfield says: "We do find towns in Britain, and farms and country houses, but the towns were few and small, and the farms and country houses indicated comfort more than wealth."

Dr. Cox, in his "History of a Parish," remarks that "the popular idea confuses the early main British roads with those of Roman origin. These main roads the Romans utilised. Before the Roman invasion, and the consequent network of military roads, the later inhabitants of early Britain gradually formed five intertribal roads which formed the main lines of communication through the island. Earthworks were grouped to defend these roads."

Mr. Wooler thinks that Rykeneild Street left Catkill for Vinonium, and thus joined Watling Street. This does not agree with the usual view that it was one of the two Roman roads from York to the north. Dr. Hooppell, in his "Vinonia," gives maps of Roman roads, and he shows Rykeneild Street as running from York, through Sadberge, towards Durham.

Roman roads generally ran through the centre of their camps, and at Sadberge we find the street running through the centre of the camp. So important a place as Sadberge could not be isolated, and no doubt it was connected (at a later date) by a road through Houghton-le-Skerne. (See Eastwood's Roman Roads.) Bishop Hatfield's Survey (1345-1381) speaks of Sadbergate and Darlington, and the Bishop Blaize Inn was said to be in Sadberge Gate. The inn at a later date was called the Blue Lion, and was purchased by the Corporation of Darlington, and has recently been demolished.

In "John Royston," the Rev. W. G. Wrightson writes: "This Roman road left Bootham, the north gate of Eboracum, and passed through Thornton-le-Street, crossed the Tees by Pountey's Bridge at Middleton St. George, and ran through Sadberge." The historian Cade, who resided at Gainford in 1806, writes: "I ventured upon an arduous undertaking by endeavouring to trace the Rykeneild Street

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from Monks Bridge in Derbyshire, to Tynemouth in Northumberland. The road or street passed through Neasham, Sadberge, Stainton-le-Street, Mainsford, Old Durham, and Gateshead to Tynemouth."

In the history of Darlington, Longstaff writes: "Five hundred years ago our main roads scarcely existed, and probably the Causeways, via Watling Street and via Rykeneild Street, through Sadberge, were one as good as the other."

In Roman times Watling Street and Rykeneild Street were the principal, if not the only means of communication between York and Newcastle. There is a remarkable illustration of this in 1304.

On March 23rd, in that year, Edward III. summoned a Parliament at Edinburgh. The Bishop of Lincoln and Sir Geoffrey la Scrope passed through York. The Bishop reached Northallerton on the first night from York, Sedgefield the next day, and Newcastle the next (Longstaff, page 351). Thus there can be little doubt that the Bishop travelled by Rykeneild Street through Sadberge. The Bishop of Norwich returned from Edinburgh via Piercebridge but the Bishop of Lincoln returned via Sedgefield and Neasham, *i.e.*, through Sadberge. William de Qouch went through Edinburgh via Rykeneild Street through Sadberge, and returned via the Watling Street, through Piercebridge. Thus historians assert that the Rykeneild Street ran through Sadberge.

We will proceed to consider the evidence of its existence 1,500 years after the Roman occupation ended. It had been a Roman station, and the straight road, running north and south across the summit of the hill, was a part of the old Rykeneild Street. "Here was an ancient Foss" (Wrightson op. cit.). As we enter Sadberge from the south, the width and level of the Roman road can be traced. In the field to the right belonging to Prospect House, and in the paddock on the opposite side attached to the Rectory, are traces clear and distinct of the level and width of the old Roman road, narrowed and sunken as the present highway is. Then in a field to the west, belonging to the Ormesby estate, and adjoining the Rectory glebe, terrace after terrace, rising regularly one above another, can be traced running east and west, extending to the hill on which the church stands. These are very remarkable after all this lapse of time; and especially in view of the fact that the land has been ploughed over and over again—though at present it is in grass. We have said that Roman roads ran through the middle of their camp; and so it is in

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Sadberge. As you approach the village from the north, in a field to the left belonging to the Ormesby estate, the terraces are more distinct than are those on the south. They run in parallels, terrace above terrace, and can be traced along the side of the hill even up to the stackyard, where a pebbled path exists. Once I took Bishop Westcott over these terraces, and he was greatly impressed. "Mr. Taylor, they are very remarkable," he exclaimed. Certainly after so long a period of time we could hardly expect such clear, visible traces of the Roman camp as do in fact exist. These terraces running east and west may mark the site of the Oppidum. On the west side of the Roman street, as we approach the village from the north, most of the land has long been market gardens; but, in a field belonging to Brasenose College, Oxford, these parallel lines reappear, and on a line with the terraces on the east side of it. Though now the land is constantly dug, the line of the terraces can still be traced westward until they are in line with the fortification on the hill. I have traced them myself, in company with the late Reverend Christopher Jackson (Rector of Middleton St. George). Thus the village now confirms the statement that Sadberge was on a Roman road, and was the site of a Roman camp.

The question may be asked, Did a Roman fortification exist on the hill at Sadberge? That there were some military defensive works may be safely assumed, but of what kind it is difficult to state. Dr. Eastwood (op. cit.), describing the hill at Sadberge, writes: "It commands a view of the whole neighbourhood round, and the distant views extend to the Pennine Range, fifty miles away to the west, and to the Cleveland Hills fifteen or twenty miles to the south-east, a range which stretches nearly twenty miles. It was the most defensive point north of the Tees, and the various roads seem to have their support from this fortification."

And Longstaff says: "This castle hill is crowned with a raised mound of ground a hundred yards long and forty-five yards broad, probably the site of the Roman Castle" (page 87).

Rev. W. G. Wrightson (op. cit.) asserts that a castle existed on the hill of Sadberge where the church now stands.

Very probably the Romans did fortify the hill of Sadberge and that to some considerable extent, in view of two facts: (1) Haverfield's assertion that the Roman occupation in the north was military, and (2) that the Romans were masters of strategy, and would be likely to make full use of so commanding a site as this. Opinions differ as to what the

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military defence was. Castellum means a fort, and not necessarily a castle; also a citadel or stronghold. The hill, therefore, would surely be made a citadel or fortified place on the street.

It is a special privilege of antiquarian theories that they are difficult of disproof; but there exists now, at the east end of the church, a moat of early origin which played some part in the fortifications. I have never seen any traces of a castle on the site. On the east side of the present churchyard, remains of a wall were found, and I have seen signs that a battle had been fought on this spot. A villager died, and his widow requested me to allow a grave to be dug just outside the south wall, where the soil was higher than the rest of the graveyard, and on a spot which would be about the centre of the yard in Norman times. I foolishly assented. To my surprise and grief, skulls were as numerous as potatoes in a potato field. I took care not to allow any more graves to be dug in this part of the yard.

As to the terrain, on the east side of the hill it shelves rapidly and deeply to a pond (so called by the villagers), which seems to be the remains of a moat which surrounded the Roman works of defence, as mentioned above. In Roman times the site was open north, south, east and west, and the hill probably formed a circle. Now it is much smaller, and almost a square. The north side of the moat was filled in by George Stokel in 1806. He made the enclosed lands into a garden. Robert Metcalfe became its owner, and, on September 25th, 1865, he conveyed it to the Churchwardens, and was paid one pound, six shillings and fivepence for his expenses to Stockton (a distance of seven miles) to complete the conveyance. What the purchase-price was is not recorded, but as the Wardens had in the following year to pay interest at five per cent. on £88, it is probable that a considerable part of this sum was for the purchase of this acquired land on the north side of the hill. In the same year the Wardens paid £8 5s. 0d. for levelling the north side of the hill—a reasonable sum, if the land shelved as it does now on the east. Then the west side of the hill was encroached upon in very recent times, and the hill was reduced in size. A road was made at right angles to the highway which runs east and west, and this road adjoined the road, or the old street, which runs off at the south. In 1817, Thomas Gamble made a garden on the west side of it. The enclosure of common lands by adjacent owners, and their seizure as private property, is not peculiar to Sadberge.

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The width of the Rykeneild Street may be judged from the space between the wall of the Three Tuns Inn, facing westwards, to the opposite cottages belonging to Hedley. I have had it measured, and it is 220 feet—this probably was the width of the Roman street. In modern times two cottages have been erected facing south and north, a block almost occupying the centre of the street. A friend has measured the space between the western wall of this block and Hedley's property opposite, and it is 150 feet.

The Roman road was over seventy yards wide, and ran at this width, north and south.

In later times the erection of the County Pound narrowed the space of the Roman road, and in the present century the custodians of Sadberge removed the village pump. Hannah Graham, a native of Sadberge, full of reverence for its ancient history, has pictured this act of vandalism by the following poem :—

"PITY THE SORROWS OF THE POOR PUMP."

Once upon a time a useful pump stood here,
And who would dare to interfere ?
"I," said John Bull (always severe),
"I'll let you see, it shall disappear ! "
Then why am I left to encumber the ground ?
Where, oh where, can an answer be found ?
Again said John Bull, with a voice most profound,
"To show our *sweet* folly to the world all around."
Then haste to my rescue, all ye who pass by :
I know I'm not handsome, and please not the eye ;
So away with me gently, don't trust me to fly,
Tho' it would give me some pleasure to wish you good-bye.
Your truly dejected
HANNAH GRAHAM. PUMP HOUSE.
1907.

The old Roman street was very wide, being indeed the width of the green in the centre of the village. And the enclosure of both sides of this Roman road, north and south, is remarkable. Two houses stand in the middle of the old road close to the County Pinfold, which recently disappeared. We are told that evil communications corrupt good manners, and certainly the example of Stokel and Gamble led many to imitate them, so that when the ancient churchyard (dating back to Saxon days) had to be enlarged, there were no less than four persons who claimed to be private owners of the hill of Sadberge. Two of these owners surrendered their plots, which they had made into gardens after the example of Stokel. Gamble received £20 for his enclosure, and Henderson accepted £4 10s. for his garden. As on the east and north sides, the hill

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must have shelved deeply, for £5 10s. was paid in levelling alone. In 1831, the sum of £72 11s. was paid for the wall enclosing the west side of the hill. The result of these various encroachments on the ancient hill is that now, instead of being circular, it is almost a square, the modern Church occupying its highest point.

There is evidence of a Saxon church on this hill, and, when it was erected, it is probable that the moat on the south side of the hill was filled, and a road made at right angles to the south side of the church. This road, to my knowledge, was enclosed by an adjoining landowner, who sold it; and to-day a modern house and garden occupy the old road which ran from the street to the church. The south gate was the only entrance to the Saxon and Norman church, as for generations it was to the present church. Even ecclesiastical authorities have aided in the destruction of this ancient hill. When a church school was required, this hill provided its site, and the moat on the south-east side was obliterated; whilst the Parson's Gate, and a path running north and south, were constructed as late as 1870.

Reverence for antiquity is not a characteristic of the nineteenth century, and the destructive spirit of the Commonwealth survives in unexpected places. In Sadberge those who ought to have been guardians of its antiquities sold them. The Rector and Wardens sold a bell which was cast before the Reformation—one of two, and certainly 450 years old. There can therefore be little surprise that so few traces of the past remain. In 1887 I found in the churchyard the base of the old Finial Cross, and the stoup of the Norman church, dating back to 1266. Evidently the person who had received the old church as a gift—and was paid £10 to remove it!—did not think these two relics worth removing, and so left them cast out in the churchyard. Such is the selfishness of human nature that not merely old fabrics disappear, but the Church herself would long ago have shared the same fate were it not that she is a Divine Society and the gates of Hell shall not prevail against her.

I think, then, we may reasonably say:

(1) That Sadberge was a Roman military station;
(2) That on the hill there was a Roman fortification;
(3) That a Roman camp surrounded it;
(4) That the Roman Rykeneild Street ran through the centre of the camp at Sadberge.

It has been said that the English people have no sense of the historic; or they would not ruthlessly destroy the priceless treasures which have been handed down to them.

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The destruction of ancient Sadberge might well kindle the fire of indignation in some poet or prose-writer whose words should burn and endure and hand down a lamentation to future generations. Truly there seems abundant material for such a protest. "Now with all its venerable associations, Durham, compared with cities of British or Roman origin—*e.g.*, London, Lincoln, York—is but a place of *yesterday*; it dates only from 995. Its Ecclesiastical history goes back to the coming of St. Aidan from distant Iona, to what is now called Holy Island, in 635. St. Aidan and St. Oswald were the real founders of the Church of Durham."—(Canon Fowler, in article on Durham, November, 1898.) Sadberge is one of those cities of British or Roman origin.

Let us digress and briefly glance at the state of the country at this time. The history of Sadberge for the next 400 years became the history of England, especially the ancient Kingdom of Northumbria; and this digression setting forth the history and development of the country will not be out of place, as the history of Sadberge itself is necessarily fragmentary and obscure.

The Roman military occupation of the North was fiercely contested during the 400 years of its duration. In 121 A.D. Hadrian built a rampart against the Picts and Scots. Thirty-nine years later Lollius Urbanus erected a rampart between the Firths of the Forth and the Clyde. In 208 A.D. Severus built the Roman Wall to keep in check the Northern warriors. Besides these enemies, the Romans had to resist the attacks from Saxon pirates. The Emperors Diocletian and Maximian appointed a "*Comes litoris Saxonici.*" Corausius was the first Count who asserted his independence; and he was assassinated in 286 A.D. Constantius sent an army, and in future no question arose as to Roman supremacy during the occupation. In 386 Honorius withdrew the Roman soldiers, and in 420 all troops and officials were finally withdrawn. The three chief military officers under the Romans were (1) Comes Brittaniarum, (2) Comes Littoris Saxonici per Brittaniarum, (3) Dux Brittaniarum, who had charge of the wall of Severus and of the troops in the northern part of the province. This officer would be the man in command at Sadberge. Palgrave, in his History, says: "The Romans acted like a man who is afraid of robbers; he hires the brother of the depredators to stand as sentinel before the door."

They rewarded military services by gifts of land. Two German tribes, the Quadi and the Marcomanni especially,

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received such rewards. Upwards of forty barbarian legions had been introduced into Britain, principally on the northern and eastern coasts; so that when in 420 A.D. the Romans withdrew, the inhabitants of Northumbria, which included Sadberge, were a very mixed race. These soldiers also were paid by gifts of land; and the valleys and mountain-passes and the banks of frontier rivers, such as the Tyne, Wear, and Tees, were tilled by martial husbandmen. These soldier-landowners warded off the attacks of the enemies. Their sons, at the age of eighteen, had to gird on the baldrick and to join that legion to which the father belonged. The Saxon successors followed the Roman example, and also rewarded military service by gifts of land. Bede land was held to be public stock, from which these soldiers were rewarded, and the name of Benefice was given to these gifts. The number and importance of these Benefices were very great, and the word was used in this connection up to the ninth century, when it dropped out of use. At a later date it was revived and applied to the clergy and to the spiritual duties attached to the Cure of souls, whilst as applied to the Roman soldier the word meant only the use and enjoyment of the land he had to render military service for. The absolute proprietor was the lord, and the holder prayed for his benefice; hence it was called Precaria, as its enjoyment alone was granted, not its absolute possession; hence again the term land-let—in Anglo-Saxon times lien—(land held by covenant to render military service).

Dates of departures and restorations of *Roman* troops:—

A.D. 387: Withdrawal of the Roman troops from Britain; probably left from *Richborough*.

A.D. 396: A legion sent to guard the Roman Wall (Antonius).

A.D. 402: This legion withdrawn.

A.D. 406: Roman Army restored.

A.D. 407: Constantine the Usurper again withdraws the Army.

A.D. 409: Termination of the Roman Empire in Britain.

A gold coin of Honorius, Emperor of the West at the time of the withdrawal, has been found at Richborough, from whence they probably sailed.

On the Roman retirement, in 418, the country was overrun by Picts, Scots, Jutes, Saxons, and Angles, and some of these tribes formed permanent settlements, notwithstanding Roman walls and ramparts. They founded a number of small states, such as Bryneich (Bernicia) and

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Deifyr (Deira), which soon were at war with each other, as well as with the ancient Britons who retired westward.

The Anglo-Saxon period may be divided as follows:—

(1) From the Roman departure to Ella, the first Bretwald of Saxon race, 491 A.D.;
(2) From Ella to Egfort, 670 A.D., who constituted the Kingdom of Northumbria;
(3) From Egfort to Edgar, 960 A.D.

One of the earliest Saxon law-books contains these words: "The people after great wars, tribulations, and troubles, suffered for a long time, chose themselves a king to reign and to maintain and defend their persons and goods in peace by rules."

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CHAPTER III.

SADBERGE AND THE SAXONS.

"OUR knowledge of Britain during the last century of the Roman occupation is scanty. For a short twelve years before that, the Island was an independent state." (See Collier.) Carausius was appointed to be Count of the Saxon shore by Diocletian and Maximian, and was given command of a fleet to defend the coast against Scandinavian pirates. In 288 he made himself the ruler of Britain, and the Roman Emperor acknowledged his claim. He fell at York by the dagger of Albestus, a Briton, who seized the throne in 297 A.D. Three years later he was slain in battle against the Romans. (See Collier.) The incursions of the Goths, who were threatening the very heart of the Empire, compelled the Romans to withdraw troops from Britain in 410, and finally to abandon the Island about ten years later. Somewhere about 449 A.D. the Jutes invaded the North. In 582 A.D. the Saxon Heptarchy was established. Northumbria embraced the ancient kingdoms of Bernicia (extending from the Forth to the Tyne) and Deira, stretching from the Tees to the Humber. The country between the Tyne and the Tees was later known as the "Franchise of St. Cuthbert," which also was incorporated in the kingdom of Northumbria. (Consult Palgrave's map, page 49.) The population was very mixed, consisting of Britons, Saxons, Angles, Picts, Scots, other Scandinavian tribes, and Danes. Caedmon of Whitby wrote a poem in Anglo-Saxon in the seventh century, and he probably was the earliest writer and religious poet. A monument has been erected in the parish churchyard at Whitby to perpetuate his memory.

Bede was born at Sunderland, and wrote "The History of the Church of the Angles." The title "The Venerable" is his because of his translation of the Holy Gospels. His monument, with this title inscribed, is in the famous Galilee Chapel of Durham. He died on Ascension Day,

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785 A.D. On the day of his death he asked the monk to whom he was dictating, "How much remains?" The answer was, "One chapter of St. John's Gospel." This he translated, and then clasping his hands, he repeated "*Gloria Patri*," and passed to his rest. He was taken from the evils to come. War and turbulence were the chief characteristics of a period of four centuries. "The daily life of even the noblest Anglo-Saxon was that of a half-savage people. War and turbulence, their chief characteristics, were not favourable to the cultivation of domestic virtues."* When not engaged in war, the nobles amused themselves in hunting and hawking; and when the sports of the day were over, all, master and servant alike, met in the great hall. At the upper end of this, on a dais or raised platform, was placed a rude table canopied with hangings of cloth, and around it sat the lord, his family and his guests. He was served by slaves, who knelt as they offered to each huge joints on the spit, from which the chiefs cut slices with their daggers. The principal article of food was swine's flesh, besides which game, fish of various kinds, coarse cakes and green pulse were used. The favourite drink was mead, a liquor fermented from honey and water. Wine, beef, mutton, and wheaten bread were delicacies found only at the tables of the highest. The chief servants took their meals next, and in turn passed the joints to the lower end of the hall, where slaves, hounds, and hawks squabbled over the fragments. The meal over, drinking began and continued till all were intoxicated. To beguile the time, the Saxon harp of five strings was passed round, and each took his turn in singing verses to its accompaniment. This general practice of the musical art is about the only redeeming trait in a picture of coarse sensuality. They slept where they had feasted, lying on straw or rushes and covered with their cloaks. The ladies spent their time more peacefully and to more purpose, in the use of the needle and distaff. Some specimens of their skill still exist, the principal one being the celebrated Bayeux tapestry, in which are depicted the scenes of the Norman Conquest.†

In the medley of races the British and English elements were nearly equal. The chieftains had great sway, and the kingdom had the seeds of disunion and decay. The Anglo-Saxons held the best parts of Britain. The Cymri held the western country, the mountains and moors, and were able to resist invaders. One section of the Britons held Strathclyde, and Cumbria, from Dumbarton (Dum-

* Collier. † Collier, p. 44.

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Breton, Fortress of the Britons) to the southern boundary extending into Lancashire. The ridge of the mountains, the British Apennines, separated them from Northumbria. Thus the British were either banished from the north-east or were reduced to vassalage. The island from the Pictish Sea (the Firth of Forth) to the Channel became the inheritance of Anglo-Saxons, who enforced their own laws, customs and language upon the country as being paramount lords, though the Jutes also effected an establishment.* Bede divided the people into four nations—the Angles, Picts, Cymri, and Scots. Very many territories were ruled by Anglo-Saxons, and had two aspects; as a state they were Anglo-Saxon, but as a population they were Briton. An Anglo-Saxon king was in peace time a magistrate, in war time a commander. The country was never subjugated by a great army, but it was harassed from the earliest times by small bodies of freebooters, who came in a number of vessels to the east coast and constantly replaced the settlers by newcomers. Even during the Roman occupation, and to a much greater degree afterwards, Saxon tribes were invaded by Danes and Norsemen —adventurers who pillaged and then settled. From the time of Ella to that of King Harold, the Anglo-Saxon states drew closer together, but there was no legislative union; Northumbria, Mercia, and Wessex acting separately in every revolution, and remaining distinct communities. The Saxon Heptarchy lasted for 800 years, from about 500 to 800 A.D.

As to the condition of Sadberge in the fifth century, it would play its part in the general turbulence, alike when the Saxon was harrying the Briton† (250 to 450 A.D.) and when Bernicia and Deira were harrying each other, or were engaging in perpetual guerilla warfare with the surrounding Picts, Scots, Jutes and other tribes. When Ella, who, as we have seen, was the first Bretwalda of the Saxon race, united Bernicia and Deira in 481, Sadberge, which had formerly belonged to the King of Deira, became part of his kingdom. He was a Cynge (Head Bretwalda), a ruler of the Empire. The kingdom of Northumbria was established in 898 A.D. and included Sadberge. Palgrave asserts that "Bretwalda literally means the dominator of Britain"; as a title then it would be equivalent to Emperor of Britain (page 89). In 477 Ella and his three sons landed in the territory of the Regni. A general confederacy of the kingdoms and tyrants was formed against

* Bede, 630 A.D. † See Dr. Giles, *Life and Times of Alfred the Great.*

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these invading Saxons, but fresh reinforcements arrived from Germany and enabled Ella to proclaim himself Bretwalda. Hitherto he had been simply the king of the South Saxons—our modern Sussex. Fourteen years later he united Deira with Bernicia under his rule, forming the one kingdom of Northumbria. Deira was the country between the Tyne and the Tees (embracing Sadberge, of course), and is eternally associated with the great Pope Gregory—the slave boys who attracted the Holy Father in the market of Rome being natives of Deira. The story has been told so often, but ever bears repetition. The Pope entered into conversation with the owner of the fair-faced foreigners.

"To what nation do these boys belong?" he asked.

"Angles, Father."

Gregory played on the name Angles. "Well may they so be called," he said, "for they are comely as angels! they might become cherubim in Heaven! From what province of Britain do they come?"

"From Deira."

"*De-ira!* From the wrath they are to be delivered! Who is their king?"

"Ella, Father."

"Well named! they should be taught to sing 'Hallelujah!'"

This incident in the slave-market at Rome in 588 A.D. is said to have determined Gregory to send Christian missionaries to Britain and the Angles, and in 597 he sent the monk Augustine, with forty other monks, who landed on the Isle of Thanet, and proceeded to Canterbury in procession, singing litanies. However, this incident links Sadberge with Ella, the first Saxon Bretwalda, and with Deira, in which Sadberge then was. Hutchinson (History of Durham, vol. 1, page 31) says: "How far Deira originally extended, it is difficult to ascertain." Yet there can be little doubt that in 491 Sadberge formed part of the kingdom of Deira.

Bretwalda. The Bretwalda coin, rudely copied from the medal of Carausius, exhibits the Wolf and Twins, the ensign of Ancient Rome. This standard was carried before Ella, indicating imperial authority, and the universal submission he expected from the various tribal factions (Palgrave, page 17). In 616, the kingdom of Northumbria passed to Edwin. His authority extended over every part of Britain, whether Cymric, English, Saxon, the Menavian Islands, or Man, or Anglesey; all were subject to Northumbria. He fell in battle at Heathfield in 634, and his nephew Oswald,

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who succeeded him, united in his own person Bernicia and Deira. He was acknowledged as King of Northumbria. His labours, in conjunction with St. Aidan, mark him out as the very model of a Christian king. Such was the respect which his subjects bore him, that they called him "the bounteous hand." He also fell in battle against the Mercians in 642.

For 200 years Northumbria was the scene of many fierce struggles, the Angles and Saxons defending their country against the Danes and Scandinavians, and other northern invaders from across the sea, up to about 866 A.D. In the winter of 874-5, these northern invaders reached the Tyne. On the death of Healidene, in 883, Northumbria passed to Guthred, son of Hardicanute, till 894. Guthred was a Dane, and the Saxon King Alfred became King of Northumbria. It is not improbable that Guthred became a vassal to Alfred, who made a treaty with him when the latter embraced Christianity, and stood sponsor at his baptism. The Danes at this period had command of the North Sea. When Healidene died, these Norsemen were divided into factions.

In 803, the Bishop of Hexham or Lindisfarne, Eadred, was directed by St. Cuthbert in a vision to proceed to the host of the Danes, and persuade them and the Angles to accept Guthred as sovereign. The Bishop led them to Oswin's Dune, or Hill of Oswin, and Guthred was invested with the golden bracelet, and made King of Northumbria, in vassalage to Alfred. A second vision was announced to Guthred, and he not merely confirmed the possessions of the See of Lindisfarne between Tyne and Tees, but he extended its endowment by adding the land between Infra Tinsam et Teesam. "From this ancient donation arose the palatinate rights of the prelates of Durham. All the ultimate property or dominion of the land in the county palatinate is vested in the Bishop, and to him it reverts if the freeholder dies without an heir, or incurs a legal forfeiture. The gift was so expressed as to convey a complete jurisdiction, and the Bishop became a Prince within his franchise. He exercised the power of life or death; like a King he could pardon and condemn." (Palgrave, page 134).

However this was, opinions differ, yet the Act of Parliament constituting the Ecclesiastical Commission has transferred the Bishop's titles and prerogatives to the Crown, and the emoluments to the new Commissioners. In 880, Northumbria was handed over to the Danes, and peace was made between them and Alfred. The Danish and

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Scandinavian invasion lasted from 866 to 880. Guthred, the Dane, as King of Northumbria, made his grant of land between the Tyne and Tees in 894. The "*Encyclopædia Brittanica*" (vol. 8, page 708) asserts "that the Earldom of Northumberland continued to embrace Durham; and also that in 1075, Bishop Walcher (the first Norman Bishop of Durham) purchased the Earldom of Northumbria, and that it was after this that the Bishops began to exercise regal rights in their territory."

Old Bernicia beyond the Tyne seems never to have been subject to the Danes until the general submission in 924. Bernicia and Deira were the two ancient kingdoms which afterwards became Northumbria. Sadberge was in ancient Deira. The Saxon period extends from the Roman evacuation in the fifth century to the Norman conquest in the eleventh, a period of 500 years, during which Sadberge became a Saxon Wapentake, but at what point of time, and how, we have not discovered. It may be that the patrimony of St. Cuthbert, given by Guthred, was co-extensive with the Wapentake, embracing, as the former did, the land between the Tyne and Tees.

The aim of the Britons was to sow discord amongst the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. From 250 to 450, the Saxons harassed the Britons under the Romans. The Angles, along with the Saxons, invaded Britain in the fifth century, and gave it their name. These Britons begged the help of the roving Danes and Saxon tribe against the equally fierce barbaric Picts and Scots who invaded the country. These invaders were (1) ancient Saxons, (2) Angles or English in the Duchy of Schleswig, called Anglina Danes, (3) Jutes. Northumbria, of which Sadberge was part, was chiefly occupied by Angles. During the reign of Egbert, 867 A.D., the Saxon or northern piratcs for thirty years renewed their invasion. In 878, King Alfred overthrew the Danes, afterwards making peace with Guthred, as has been mentioned above. Some say that Alfred gave Northumbria to him, and he certainly gave East Anglia. During these 800 years Christianity had taken root. Monasteries had been founded, from Iona and the mainland, throughout Northumbria from Tyne to Tees. The monks at this period described the Danes as pagans. They certainly attacked, plundered, and burnt the monasteries, those refuges of religion, of learning, and protectors of the poor. Under God, Alfred rescued religious houses, and preserved Christianity. The Heptarchy lasted from 410 to 827, *i.e.*, 417 years. About 800, the Saxon kingdoms were reduced to three, viz., Northumbria, Mercia, and Wessex. Ida, in 547, founded

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Northumbria, extending from the Humber to the Firth of Forth, and embracing the ancient kingdoms of Bernicia and Deira, and the franchise of St. Cuthbert. In 827, Egbert reduced Mercia and united the Heptarchy. There were fifteen Saxon kings from 827 to 1017. The Danes continued their invasion of the east coast, and after Alfred's treaty with them in 883-4, the country from the Thames, running north as far as the Forth, was called Danelagh. It embraced ancient Bernicia from the Forth to the Tyne, Deira from Tyne to Tees and Northumbria, and thus Guthred, under Alfred, exercised authority on the coast from the Forth to the Thames. The Kings of the Danelagh were called Cyning (from Cushman, "to know"). Their Earls, or Eldermen, governed shires or sovereign districts. They led their men to battle, and presided at Courts of Justice, along with their Bishop, and received a third of the fines and royal rents of counties. The thanes (from *thetram*, "to serve") had to possess at least five hides of land. The ceorls were husbandmen, and the lowest class of freemen and burghers (or inhabitants of towns). Two-thirds of the Anglo-Saxons were slaves. The largest class lived on the land of their lord close to his castle (Norman *ville*, Saxon *town*). They were thus called "villeins." The sale and purchase of slaves were common transactions. King Alfred in 878 (400 years after Roman law and order had departed from the land) drew up a code of law:—

(1) Mote for each village or tithing.

(2) Mote for each hundred or group of villages.

(3) Mote for each shire or county or group of hundreds.

He founded the Great Council, or Witenagemote, presided over by the King. This word is formed from *witan* ("wise men") and *gemot* ("a meeting"). It was the national council, the first origin of which is obscure. In the seventh and eighth centuries Kent, Wessex, Mercia and Northumbria all seem to have had separate councils; but whether this in Northumbria was distinct from the Folksmot, in which each freeman had the right to appear, is disputed. Gneist (*History of English Constitution*), Kemble (*Saxons in England*), and Freeman (*History of the Norman Conquest*) all seem to regard them as identical; but Freeman thinks that the right of all freemen to attend had fallen into disuse; that is, the Folksmot had become the Witan. Stubbs thinks the Witan and Folksmot were distinct, and that on the decrease of the kings, the Witans also decreased, until there was only one for all England in the ninth century. In conjunction with the Witan, the

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King promulgated laws, granted land, appointed bishops and eldermen, and discharged the duties of ruling. It also administered justice. Apparently, it consisted of the king, his sons and relatives, bishops, and later, abbots, subordinate kings, thanes, aldermen of the provinces or shires. It seems to have had no fixed place of meeting, but assembled round the person of the king anywhere and everywhere at Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide. In Edgar's Witan of 966 A.D. there met the king's mother, two archbishops, seven bishops, five ealdermen, fifteen king's Thanes. Soon after 1066 it fell into disuse.

Alfred introduced respect for life and property by introducing trial by jury. He divided the land into counties and hundreds and tithings. He introduced such respect for property that it is said golden ornaments might be hung on the roadside, and no robber would dare to touch them—a remarkable civilization, far surpassing ours! Alfred translated into Anglo-Saxon the *Psalms*, *Bede's History*, and *Æsop's Fables*.

The buildings were at first thatched, and had holes in the walls for light. Cathedrals and palaces were generally built of wood, not very well jointed, nor airtight. King Alfred made lanterns to protect his candles from draughts which came through the chinks in the walls. Up to the seventh century wood was the chief material for building purposes.

Coins. The byzant was equal to £15 of our money. The silver coins were the penny, halfpenny, and farthing, resembling in size and value our florin, shilling, and sixpence. Copper coinage was the styca, about a quarter of a farthing, and equal to our penny. The Anglo-Saxons have left behind them reminiscences of their heathenism in the names given to the days of the week: Sundaeg, Moondaeg, Tuiscaes (Tuesday) from their god Tuisca; Wodenesdaeg, from their god Woden; Thoresdaeg, from Thor; Freyaesdaeg, from Freya; and Saturndaeg, from Saturn. Christian civilization was brought from Iona and Lindisfarne, and the monasteries became the source from which Anglo-Saxon literature flowed. Our English tongue, as seen in the Bible of 1611, and in Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, is in its structure essentially Saxon. The Anglo-Saxon Christian priests cultivated many arts. They painted on glass, worked in metals, were the patrons and cultivators of art, and taught these things to the highest in Church and State.

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Saxon and Danish kings continued to follow in Alfred's footsteps down to the Norman Conquest. "During the period 450 to 850, *i.e.*, from the Roman withdrawal to Alfred, the character of the people changed. Instead of warriors they became farmers, settlers, rather than pirates. As they conquered the original owners, they settled on the land and founded villages, the names of which exist to this day, *e.g.*, Ton, Hill, Ford." (Farrer.) They rendered military service as tenants of the land. They had to join the army at the King's command. As Sadberge was a Saxon wapentake, they had to attend the mote or meeting of freemen of their villages, where fines were inflicted and justice was administered. The conquered Britons, as well as the lower Saxons, were slaves in fact if not in name. The Britons were by no means exterminated. Differences of class and rank existed in Anglo-Saxon society. When a king ruled, he claimed a large tract of the land, and had his own picked soldiers and companions, called thanes or theigns. These did the fighting. Farmers who shirked military service paid heavy fines, and also paid those who fought.

The Danes obtained the rule from 1017 to 1041. Canute (1017) was succeeded by his son Harold in 1036, whose half-brother, Hardicanute, succeeded in 1041. The Saxon line was restored in the person of Edward the Confessor, son of Etheldred, in 1041, and came to an end with the conquest by the Norman William in 1066.

Few Saxon landowners survived. Probably so long as Saxon bishops held their sees few changes in land tenure took place. The Normans introduced the *Feudal* system, which was unknown to the Saxon. Saxon kings were content to receive much of their rent in kind, and their revenue from land produce. The Saxon King had his Court amongst his vassals, and they supplied provisions. The Norman introduced pomp and military display. His Barons had not sheaves to produce, but to train and pay soldiers; military service was the Norman's aim, and he made Barons for this purpose. Barons had existed in ancient Northumbria, under the Bishop as Palatinate, but they were only Barons of the Northern Kingdom; these were Norman Barons of the Realm.

In the *Wapentake* of Sadberge, prior to the Norman, there were the following *Baronies* of the *Northern* Kingdom:—(1) Armunderville, (2) Surteys, (3) Board, (4) Kain, (5) Middleton, (6) Carew.

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In 1197 there were the following Baronies in the Palatinate:—(1) Barony of Rt. Fitz-Mildred, (2) Barony of Rt. de Armunderville, (3) Barony of Gils Hansard, (4) Barony of Hyde Broch, (5) Barony of Aldan, (6) Barony of Eworth (Hurworth), (7) Barony of Gremeldon (Grimdon), (8) Barony of Hilton, (9) Barony of Hurdeworth, (10) Barony of Herdenwich (Hardwick), (11) Barony of Sigston.

We give a quotation shewing how a Baron of Northumberland owed suit at the Wapentake of Sadberge: "Roger Bertram holds in capite the Vill of Greatham with the appurtenances which pertain to his *Barony* in Northumberland, and he owes suit at the *Wapentake of Sadberge*" (Bishop Kellaw's Register).

Bede B.R. III.

Deira. Kingdom of Northumbria, divided into two Provinces—(1) Deira, (2) Bernicia. Deira reached from the Humber to the Tyne, and therefore embraced Sadberge. *Bernicia* extended from Tyne to Tweed. Though not united into one community, the two states were generally governed by *one monarch*, and became at such times the most powerful of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms.

Edwin, slain in battle, was King of Deira.

Cadwalla was King of the *Britons*. He slew Edwin and his successor Osric. Cadwalla reigned one year. King Oswald slew Cadwalla in 635.

Before the battle of Heavenfield Oswald prayed: "Let us all kneel and jointly beseech the true and loving God Almighty in His mercy to defend us from the haughty and fierce enemy, for He knows that we have undertaken a just war for the safety of our nation."

Bede says St. Oswald's Cross at Heavenfield was the first erected in Bernicia.

King Oswald. Osric was King of Deira; Eanfrid was King of Bernicia; *both* renounced Christianity. One was cousin, the other brother to King Oswald.

Deiran Dynasty: *Ella*—Osric—Oswin.

Bernician Dynasty: Ethelric—Ethelfred—Oswald.

Oswald united Deira and Bernicia and ruled both. Oswald re-created *Northumbrian* Christianity, and in eight years it was strong. Oswald slain by Penda at Maserfield, 642.

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CHAPTER IV.

Sadberge a Saxon Wapentake.

We quote from Surtees, the historian of Durham:—"Sadberge was certainly an ancient Wapentake; it may safely be asserted that it was a Saxon Wapentake." Again, "There can be little doubt of the existence of Sadberge as a separate district much earlier than the time of Richard the First, or of Bishop Pudsey; it certainly was an ancient Wapentake."

Bishop Kellaw's Registers were edited by Dr. Hardy, and in the preface of his book he writes: "The word Wapentake is *only* found in connection with Sadberge. There was a large tract of country known as the Wapentake of Sadberge, which at the Conquest was regarded as part of the county of Northumberland; perhaps on account of its forming part of the possession of the ancient Earldom of Northumberland: but how it became separated from, or united to it, has never been satisfactorily ascertained."

That the Wapentake of Sadberge had some link with Northumberland seems evident from the following entry in Hatfield's Survey, page 207: "Annis 8 et 9 Ed. II (1305-6) Inq et presentaceous capt coram escheat et vic com Northumb de terris intra Tyne et Tese, infra Wapentag de Sadberg ret in canc Westminster."

In 1199, Bishop Pictavia of Durham, the successor of Bishop Pudsey, paid twenty marks to the King, but from the scutage raised between 1201 and 1212, he was released by writ, although the Sheriff of Northumberland reported that he had ten knights' fees in the Wapentake of Sadberge. (Ruben liber de Saccario (Excheq.) 1-164 II. 806.) That the Wapentake of Sadberge had links with Northumberland is evident also from Bishop Kellaw's Registers: "Roger Bertram holds in capite the Vill of Greatham, with the appurtenances which pertain to his Barony in Northumberland, and he owes suit at the Wapentake of Sadberge."

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It seems to be a historic fact (1) that the Wapentake of Sadberge was a Saxon institution, and (2) that it was a military arrangement extending to the Saxon kingdom, linked with Northumberland, and established some time between the Roman evacuation and the Norman conquest.

Dr. Hardy asserts: "For more than a century after the Conquest, to 1187, the Wapentake of Sadberge formed no part of the Franchise of St. Cuthbert, and was treated as part of Northumberland."

"In the time of Bishop Langley (1406-37) it is said that the Wapentake embraced Barnard Castle, Dalton, Greetham, Hurworth, Marwood and Neasham, Lower Coniscliffe, all in the County of Sadberge, and the Wapentake included the country to the west. Dicebetur Cliam, Barnard Castle, Cleatham, Eggleston, Long Newton, Langton, Middleton, Newbiggin, Honiton, are in the Wapentake of Sadberge." (Office Prothonotary Hy. VII.)

In the Crewe MS. it is recorded that in the time of the Bishop Beaumont, 1318-1333, the offices and inquisitions of the Freeholders were taken at Sadberge, and their tenure of land was by doing *Suit* at the Wapentake of Sadberge from three weeks to three weeks, and the said offices were taken before Nicholas de Sutton, Sheriff of Sadberge.

The Crewe MS. also records that "Simon of Esh was Sheriff of Sadberge, and the Escheator of the Wapentake of Sadberge, and that the Wapentake and Courts were distinct." Also that "Peter de Brus, the Lord of the Manor of Hart, did service (or *suit*) at the Wapentake of Sadberge, from Sept. 3rd to Sept. 24th, the 8 weeks' service."

"Probably the Wapentake of Sadberge came to the Crown when Robert de Mowbray was deprived of the Earldom of Northumberland for treason by Wm. Rufus, after the evacuation of Earl Waltheof, 1075, when Walcher, a Norman was Bishop" (Dr. Hardy).

In Edward's Charter, 1303, when the conflict between the King and Bishop Beck and the Nevilles took place, there is this remarkable clause: "For the purposes of arrest and imprisonment, the Wapentake of Sadberge is to be regarded as a venue distinct from the rest of the Palatinate, except in cases against the Bishop." (See Lapsley, pages 130-133.)

"At the Conquest, the Bishop's possessions included nearly all the district between Tyne and Tees *except Sadberge*" (*Eccles. Britt.*, vol. 8, page 708).

The above paragraph was written by Ronald John McNeill, M.A., Christ Ch., Oxon., barrister-at-law. The entire paragraph is: "At the time of the Conquest the

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Bishop's possessions included nearly all the district between Tyne and Tees *except Sadberge*, and the outlying districts, Bedlingtonshire, Norhamshire, Islandshire, and Crayke, together with Hexhamshire, city of Carlisle, and part of Teviotdale. Henry I. deprived the Bishop of Hexham, Carlisle, and Teviotdale, but in compensation added Burdon, Aycliffe, and Carlton, hitherto in Northumbria. The Wapentake of Sadberge also formed part of the Earldom of Northumberland. Bishop Pudsey, in 1189, purchased the Wapentake and Manor of Sadberge, but it continued an independent franchise, with separate Sheriff, Coroner, and Court of Pleas."

Why not Sadberge? Probably:—

(1) Because it was a Saxon Wapentake.
(2) It was a military station, and therefore reserved by the Crown.
(3) In the unrest of the times, its military possession by Ecclesiastical authorities might deprive the King of a strong military position.

That the Norman kings were jealous of the Prince Bishop of Durham is evident, for Henry I deprived the Bishop of Hexhamshire, Carlisle, and Teviotdale; yet he added the village of Burdon (within two miles of Sadberge), Aycliffe, and Carlton, hitherto in the Earldom of Northumberland. Probably the Saxon Wapentake changed, grew, and developed with the Saxon kingdom, at one time embracing Northumbria, and later Bernicia and Deira, and later the Franchise of St. Cuthbert; as it was a Saxon military institution for the Saxon kingdom, in its various stages. We recall Surtees' assertion: "Sadberge was certainly an ancient Saxon Wapentake."

Bishop Westcott, in a sermon in Sadberge Church, Sept. 26th, 1890, thus describes historic Sadberge: "The hill on which this Church stands was famous in earlier history. Its very name told of a time when it was a seat of government, when justice was administered there, and the whole district went back to the time when society was organised on the basis of the tribe, when every division of land was held by the man's life through military service; when everyone who dwelt in the Wapentake was bound to maintain the right of the lord at the cost of his life."

Perhaps the hill and Wapentake of Sadberge has its modern parallel in the hill of Tynwald, from which Manx laws were promulgated.

Lapsley (page 162) asserts: "It is to be noted that the county of Durham is essentially modern; throughout the

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Middle Ages and long after, we only hear of the Bishopric of Durham."

Whilst of the Saxon Wapentake it may be said that it is truly ancient, and came into existence between 420 A.D., when the Roman occupation ceased, and the Norman invasion, yet its exact date and extent is uncertain, and lost in the mist of ages.

Surtees: "Sadberge was certainly an *ancient Saxon Wapentake.*"

What was an ancient Saxon Wapentake?

We give the answer of Skeat in his *Etymological Dictionary* (page 695).

A great variety of opinions as to this question are given in the Appendix to Chapter V (page 47), but we content ourselves with quoting Skeat.

Skeat (*Etymological Dictionary*, page 695): "Wapontake is an old name for a hundred or district (Scandinavian). 'Franchises, hundredis, wapontakes.'"

It is remarkable that various explanations of the word have been given, seeing that the laws of Edward the Confessor explain the original sense as "Anglo-Saxon Wapontagaece, dative case, a district Wapontake." In the secular laws of Edgar VI, in Thorpe, *Ancient Laws* (vol. 1, page 272), we find: "Wapontake, dative case." Page 292: "The nominative is Wapontagæ, latinised as *Wapentæ* or *Wapentagium.*" (Laws of Edward the Confessor.)

Arnold Chron. (page 181, 1811): "Candred is a contrary *pat consteyanp*, an hundred towns, and in Englische is called Wapontake."

The Anglo-Saxon *toccan* does not mean to touch, but to teach, and is altogether removed from the word under discussion. We may dismiss other explanations and accept the above explicit one. When a new chief of a Wapontake was elected he used to raise his weapon (a spear), and his men touched it with theirs, in token of fealty.

The word is Norse, Icelandic *Wapontake*, a weapon, taking a weapon, or touching a weapon; a token of consent so expressed. Lastly, it came to mean a subdivision of a shire in the Danish part of England, answering to the "hundreds" of other parts. Icelandic "*Vipua*," a weapon, cognate with English *weapon*, and "*tak*," a taking hold, a grasp (cf. *wrestle*), from "*taka*," to seize, grasp, also to touch. As the Icelandic "*taka*" means to touch, as well as to take, it will be seen that the explanation "*weapon-grasping*" in the Icelandic dictionary is insufficient; it means more than that, viz., the clashing of one spear

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against another spear. Cf. *Wapenschaic* (*i.e.*, weapon-show): an exhibition of arms made at certain times, in certain districts—"*Wapentagium.*"

Thus, according to Skeat, Wapentake was a place where, in Saxon times, fealty was sworn to a chief, but also a means by which land was held, the tenure depending upon the provision of fighting-men and also upon *personal service* to the superior.

Thus a Saxon Wapentake had two aspects: (1) Military service, (2) Land tenure. This Saxon military institution probably varied with the progress and development of the Saxon kingdom, both in the conditions and in the extent of the district to which it applied; and for centuries Sadberge was regarded as part of the Kingdom of Northumberland.

(*For other opinions see Appendix to Chapter V, page 47.*)

Wapentake was granted by Richard to Pudsey; the *services* of certain holders of *Knights' fees* therein were included by express mention, probably with the view to prevent the claims to the important military services of Bruce and Balliol, which, after all, were pertinaciously claimed by the succeeding Bishops of Durham. The services granted by Richard were few only: those of the Carew family, of Seaton and Owton; the Armundervilles, for Coatham and Trafford; and the service of the son of Godfrey Board and his heirs for a fee of two parts of one knight's fee, for Middleton and Hartburn.

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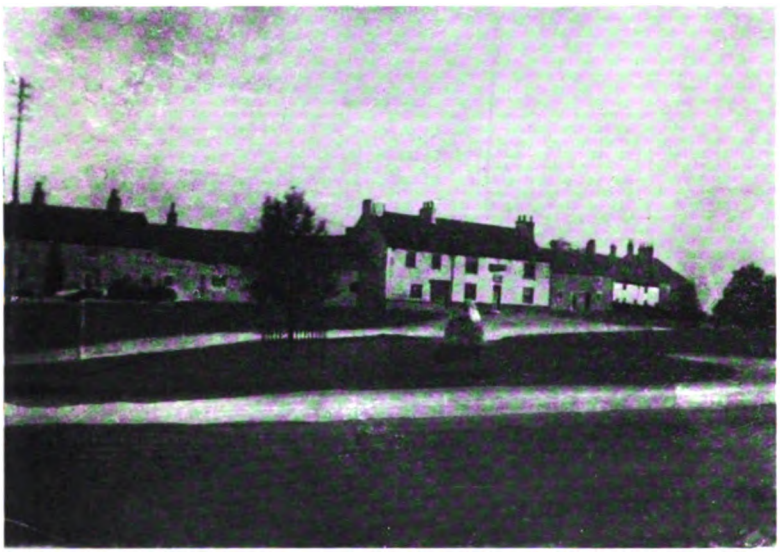

SADBERGE VILLAGE AND THE BUCK INN.

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CHAPTER V.

The Name Sadberge.

This name is unique in England. It is little known outside the county of Durham, and many confound it with Sedbergh in the North Riding of Yorkshire, a place which is well known through its Grammar School. But Sedbergh and Sadberge are very different places, and the latter, though small and obscure now, has a glorious lineage. The name is variously spelt by ancient authors, and the expositions of it are various also.

The variety of spelling. In the early part of the fourteenth century (1311-1316), in Kellaw's Registers, we find Sadberge, Sadbery, Saddebury, and Sadberie. In King Stephen's time (1135) it is spelt Sadburuie. Surtees speaks of "certain yeomanry called Sadbergif." Again, Lombard, who was a barrister, a member of Lincoln's Inn, born 1536, and died 1601, says in his Dictionary: "This Sadberge was at that time, and longer since, called a countye, the greater part of that we now call the Bishopric of Durham. I hear from some gentlemen of that quarter, that there be divers fines yet extant, acknowledged before the Bishop in his court at Sadberge, and most part of the county resort to court thither, which giveth me to think that it should be called 'Sacberge'; of *sac* and *byrg* or *beorg* (Saxon words), which signifies the court of causes, or pleas, from which signification 'Sacbeorgh" is not much different" (page 824).

The *Encyclopædia Brittanica* (vol. 5, page 188) spells it Sedberge, and Hutchinson does the same. In the Sadberge registers, which begin in 1662, the name is very variously spelt. Although a Church existed there in Saxon times, all the registers, earlier than 1662, have disappeared, and indeed throughout England the earliest known registers begin about 1530. In those extant, the spelling is Sacbeorgh, Sacbergh, Sacburgh, Sadburuie, Sadbury, Sudbury, and Sadburridge. In the parish register of Darlington appears an entry of the burial of the Rev.

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James Tate, who was minister at Sadberge at his death, January 9th, 1686. He is there described as "Minister of Sadbridge, Sadbiridge, or Sadbury." What an example of accuracy! The variety of spelling may be due to illiterate parish clerks, for in the early entries in the registers the priests used Latin, *e.g.*: "1686, Thomas Allan de Sadburge." Examples of the variations are: 1662 Sadbergh—1670 Sadbrige and Sadbridge—1671 Sadburdge—1672 Sadberdge—1676 Sadbowdge, and the same form from 1676 to 1679—1680 Sadbergh and Sadberidge—1684 Sadbridge—*"Edmund Garmondsway of Sadbridge"—George Buck (whose name lives in Sadberge and Darlington through the Buck charities) is described in 1704 as "of Sadbury." Similar variations appear also in the ecclesiastical documents.

In the Chancellor's Visitation of 1575 we read Sadbury Capella. In the Pipe Roll of Richard the First, 1165, it is spelt Sathbergia. In 1578 the Chancellor erases "Warden of Sadbury"; and we shall return to this erasure when we consider whether Sadberge was in the parish of Haughton-le-Skerne or a Capella of the Bishop, as Lord of the Manor. The Hon. Robert Booth at this Visitation on April 10th, 1705, enters a curate of Sadbirge. At the Visitation of 1579 it is spelt Sadbury and the rector of Long Newton, which is now an adjoining parish, was ordered between Michaelmas of 1578, and Michaelmas, 1579, to preach in twelve churches, one of which is Sedberge. The selection of the rector of Long Newton for this purpose may have had good reason. At that time, the east row in Sadberge and the farm of Bumper Hall were in the parish of Long Newton, and in that church was a Sadberge pew for these parishioners.

In Bishop Hatfield's Survey (1380) of Darlington, it is spelt Sadbergate:—"The tenants held certain lands, Calfhouse, Swatergate, Elesbank, Sadbergate." This last was the road leading east from Darlington, at one time the site of Bishop Blaize's Inn, later called the Blue Lion, and recently purchased to widen the road at this dangerous corner (in 1912). The road ran out from Darlington through Haughton. In the *Chronicles of Lindisfarne* we read the original of Lombard's quotation given above:—"This Satbergia was at that time, and long since, called a Countye, Comiterminge, the greater part of which we now call the Bishopric of Durham—the Court of Satberge; the greater part of the county resort thither, which gyveth me to think it should be Sacberge, of sac and byrg (Saxon words), which signifieth the Court of Causes or Pleas, from which signification Socbergh is not much different" (Hutchinson, vol. 8, page 210).

* See note at end of chapter.

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Hutchinson himself says (page 175): "It standeth upon a hill and is now called Sedbergh, which *bergh* soundeth as much in Saxon as hyll now with us in Inglishe—if any man like it better, deryved of Sacbeorh, that is, the court on the hyll, or the hyll of pleas." So from 1185 A.D. it is Sadburuie, Sacberge, Satbergia, Socberge, Sadbergia, Sacburgh, Sadbury, Sadburg, Sadbridge, and now Sadberge.

The Meaning of the Name. I am inclined to think that the name is Saxon, and means the hill where Sac or Soc was paid. Gildas states that "Roman Britain had twenty-eight civitates, and a number of castella; ceastra or castra (camps or fortresses) they used less frequently: the English word is burg." Now if burg is equivalent to urbs, and if it was used for a fortified place, it would seem to be probable that Sadberge had a castella or castle; at any rate, it was a castra or a burg, that is, a fortified place in Roman times. Others say the name comes from *saed*, a seat or residence, and *borg*, a defended place. Or again, there is the interpretation that *berg* means a hill, from the Anglo-Saxon word *beorg*, and, therefore, the name means the hill where Sac or Soc was paid. As I have indicated, this is the derivation which seems to me the most probable. Other suggestions are burg, the German word for castle; berge, a mountain; berg, a Saxon word for a fortification or defence, often consisting only of rough earthworks such as existed in Anglo-Saxon times.

In a lecture on local government, delivered in the Inner Temple Hall, on November 9th, 1908, Dr. Blake Rogers put forth another theory. He argued that in Saxon times the essential feature of the burgh, as distinguished from the township, was its close proximity to the residence or castle of the lord or bishop. Subsequently, it claimed exemption from the jurisdiction of the Hundred Courts, and started a court of its own, and later obtained grants of other rights. This theory cannot apply to Sadberge. It is true that Bishop Pudsey built a Collegiate Church at Darlington, about three-and-a-half miles from Sadberge (he was Lord of the Manor of Darlington), but Sadberge existed in Roman and Saxon times, and no bishop had authority there until Pudsey, in 1189, purchased from Richard I the Wapentake and Manor of Sadberge. Its name hence can have no connection with a bishop's residence in the neighbourhood.

In the Charters of King Richard I and King John, conveying to the Bishop the Wapentake of Sadberge, Sac or Soc is conveyed. Sac or Soc are terms signifying jurisdiction, power granted by the King to the bishop to hold manorial

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courts and impose fines, to minister justice and execute laws. It also means the territory wherein that jurisdiction is exercised; *e.g.*, Sockburn, which, although it is in Yorkshire, is in the diocese of Durham, and obtains its name from the fact that it marks the extreme limits of the bishop's soke, or privileged territory (Surtees). Dr. Fowler says: "There was probably some distinction between Sac and Soc which is now unknown. The authorities make out that both were much the same thing. In charters and other documents they are commonly mentioned together, the original object of which would be to include everything that either word could be held to imply. Sac or Soc was granted to Bishop Pudsey in a temporal capacity." Skeat's *Etymological Dictionary* says:—

Soke, Sac, a franchise held by Socage.

Soc signified power, authority or liberty to minister justice and execute laws: also the shire, circuit, territory wherein such power is exercised by him who is endued with such a liberty or privilege. (Blount's nom-lexicon, 1691.)

"Sac and Soc: Sac was the power and privilege of hearing and determining causes and disputes, or levying of the forfeitures and fines, or executing laws, and of administering justice within a certain precinct. Soc was strictly the right of investigating or seeking: it was also the territory or precinct in which the sac and other privileges were exercised. It was the limit of its jurisdiction."

Etymologically, Sac (A.S. *Saca*) is the same word as English sake. The original sense is contention, hence a lawsuit from A.S. *sacan*, to contend. Soke (A.S. *soc*) is the exercise of judicial power, and soken (Anglo-Saxon *socn*, *socen*) is an enquiry. Both these words are closely connected with the modern English word seek, to investigate, and are derived from A.S. *soc*, which is the past tense of the same verb *sacan*. Hence comes Portsoken (award) in London, which Stow explains by franchise at the gate. Hence: Soc or Sac means the full cognizance of all communal and civil cases.

Ellis, *Introduction to Doomsday* (Book I, page 278), says: "Soc or Sac is strictly the right of investigating." Spelman defines it as "Cognitio quam dominus habet in curia sua de causis litibusque inter vassallos suos donantibus."

Soccage. Royston describing a manorial feast (page 151) says: "Being the oldest both in years and tenure of all the free soccage tenants, I was at the hall with Mr. Culverley to receive the guests."

In Lincolnshire Wapentakes, or hundreds, are grouped into Sokes. A Soke is a franchise privilege or liberty, a

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jurisdiction, a power to administer justice within a certain district, or territory, or manor. (See *Standard Dictionary*.) The word continually occurs in connection with the privileges attached to proprietary corn-mills. In Roman times corn-mills existed, and every vill had its own soke mill or corn-mill, reference to which goes back to the eighth century. In Bishop Hatfield's Survey of 1345, there is mention of a prison, a mill, and a public oven, or bakehouse, in Sadberge.

Delishe (page 514) says there is no genuine evidence of windmills in Europe in the eleventh century. But a *Molendinum Equineum* (a mill worked by horses) is noticed in the Bolden Book at Oxenhalle, in the territory of Darlington, within the wapentake of Sadberge. The Bolden Book is 1183. In Kellaw's Registers there is mention of a bishop's mill: "Every man may make a mill, if it be not on land which owes suit to his (the bishop's) mill." Again, in Hutchinson (volume 3, page 214), we read: "At an inquest held 1362 at Sadberge an inquisition post mortem, taken on the death of Thomas de Graystones before the escheator William de Claxton, it is stated that he held of the Bishop *in capite* several messuages, a moiety of a water corn-mill at Coatham, payable at the Bishop's manor." Thomas de Graystones was elected by the Prior and Monks of Durham and was consecrated Bishop, but the King refused him the emoluments of the see. In post mortem 34 Bishop Hatfield (1379) *apud* Sadberge coram I. de Hyndeley, Escheator in Com. Sadb. held divers lands and tenements and a *moiety of a mill* held of the Bishop by homage and fealty" (Hutchinson, volume III page 214). "The *Hospital* of Alverton holds, in pure and perpetual alms, the *Mill* or Oven at Sadberge by the gift of Bishop Philip (1197-1208) and the King's confirmation" (Kellaw's Register). (The above is from Bishop Beck's Roll.)

From the above Registers it is probable that in the Wapentake or Manor of Sadberge—for both were united by Bishop Pudsey's purchase—there existed a Soke mill or mills; and Sac, Soc, or Soke were paid to the Bishop under either the Wapentake or his Manorial rights.

I venture to suggest that Sac, or Soc, or Soke refer to the manorial or wapentake Corn Mill in the Manor or Wapentake of Sadberge. In Saxon and Norman times large towns did not exist, for they are the products of modern civilisation. Residents in villages require food, and corn must be crushed either in creeing-stones or mills. I found in Sadberge a creeing-stone, and gave it to the Dean and Chapter's library at Durham. Canon Greenwell says it is the smallest he has ever seen. The Mill would

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generally be Manorial. We know that Manors existed in the days of Athelstane (925). The Lord of the Manor of Clitheroe had his seat at Clitheroe Castle, in Lancashire, near the borders of Yorkshire. The Lord of the Manor erected a corn-mill, and let it out to his tenants; and to ensure its success it was enjoined that all Manorial tenants take their corn to the Soke mill, a charge being made for grinding, which was called multure. The right to have their corn ground was called Soke, and the mill was termed a Soke mill. In 1296 there was a Soke mill in Burnley, then a village on the borders of Yorkshire, and in the Manor of Ighton Hill, included in the ancient Manor of Clitheroe. In 1811 the rent paid for the Burnley Soke mill was £10 per annum—a very large sum 600 years ago. When this manorial Soke mill passed to the Crown it was called the King's Mill—a name it now bears. This example of a Soke mill may elucidate the payment of Sac or Soke in the Wapentake or Manor of Sadberge. As the population increased, the lord of the manor granted charters to private individuals to erect corn-mills. We find the lord of the manor at Clitheroe granted to Laurence Townley, a member of the well-known family of Townley Hall, the right to erect a corn-mill in the King's Forest of Pendle, one of the King's hunting-grounds, with the right of grinding the corn of his tenants in the King's Forest. So the Bishop, as the lord of the Manor or Wapentake of Sadberge, granted in 1379 a moiety of a mill held by homage and fealty. Also, in 1362, at Sadberge, William de Claxton was granted a moiety of a corn mill at Coatham, payable at the Bishop's Manor. These were probably Soke mills held under the Bishop as Lord of the Wapentake or Manor of Sadberge.

Another instance of Soke mills occurs in Trawden Forest, in the neighbourhood of Haworth, the place made famous by the three daughters of the Rev. Patrick Bronte. In the Halmot Court of Trawden, in 1566, Henry Farrar was admitted customary tenant at a yearly copyhold rent of 5/-, with all soke. In 1567 he surrendered the corn mill and all the soke or soken (revenues from the mill), or all corn springing, growing, or arriving, out of all and in all the lands of the twenty-three tenants to whom he conveyed his rights.

While the tenants were, by the terms of their tenancy, compelled to take their corn to be ground at the Soke mill, the charge consisted of a certain portion of the corn, and this was called multure. This charge was a constant bone of contention between the miller and his customers.

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Charges of taking excessive toll were constantly levelled against the miller, and the rate of toll in neighbouring mills varied somewhat. No doubt the system offered a good deal of opportunity for a dishonest miller to commit fraud by taking too much multure, and it led to suspicion and discontent on the part of those whose corn was ground. There is a very amusing account of these suspicions and quarrels in the *Canterbury Tales*, and, as Chaucer is supposed to have spent some time in this neighbourhood, it is quite possible that he had it in mind in writing the story, although he places the scene "at Trompington, not far from Cantebrigge." The tale is told by the Reeve, who intended to poke ridicule at the miller, who formed part of the company of pilgrims. It is interesting to see his description of the miller as one who was proud and gay, well-armed and strong, with a round face and flat nose. He is described as a "market-beater," either one who swaggered about the market or who was given to hard bargaining. He was a man of arrogant mind, and clearly—as a miller would be when he had so much power—a man of importance, knowing full well that, however aggrieved they might be, his customers could not leave him and go elsewhere with their business. He was a monopolist of the first water, and

> "A thief he was forsooth, of corn and meal,
> And that a sly, and used for to steal."

We learn that he took excessive toll of "wheat and malt of all the land about." Among other tenants whose corn he ground, was one of the colleges of Canterbury, and when the steward fell sick, the miller "stole both meal and corn a hundred times more than he did before," and when the warden complained, he denied the theft vigorously. Among the scholars at the college were two Scotsmen, John and Allen, who asked to be allowed to go to the mill and see the corn ground, swearing that they would outwit the rascally miller. At last, leave was given them to go, and taking a horse to carry the sack of corn, they departed. Arrived, John decided to stand by the hopper and watch the corn go in, and Allen placed himself beneath so as to watch the meal coming out, thus hoping to prevent the miller from practising fraud. The miller, however, was more than a match for them. Creeping quietly outside, he set free their horse, which was fastened in a shed, and it promptly started off at a gallop over the marsh. When the corn was ground and sacked, the two scholars found the horse gone, and in great tribulation they were compelled to go after it; and while they chased it, the wily

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miller took half-a-bushel of flour from the sack and set his wife to bake it into a cake. It was with great difficulty the nag was at last caught, and then it was too late to start for home. They were entertained by the miller for the night, and in the end contrived to outwit the rascal, for the miller's daughter revealed the theft of their meal and the situation of the great cake baked from the stolen flour. So, early in the morning, after belabouring soundly the dishonest miller, they started for home, taking the cake, but forgetting to pay for their night's entertainment. "A deceiver shall himself beguiled be."

We therefore think that Sacberge, generally written as Sadberge, was the Hill where Sac (or Soc) was paid in Saxon times; and when the Manor of Sadberge passed, by purchase, to the See of Durham, it was the place where Sac (or Soke) was paid for the corn ground at the Bishop's corn-mill (or mills) in the Manor of Sadberge.

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APPENDIX.

Bibliographical References and Quotations to Chapter V.

Appendix A.

(1) "North of the Tees, Sadberge, in Durham, is the only district which is called a Wapentake, and the rest of the administrative divisions were called Wards."—*Encyclopædia Brittanica* (volume 8, page 304).
"The Wapentake of Sadberge formed part of the Earldom of Northumberland; it was the only Wapentake north of the Tees."
—*Encyclopædia Brittanica* (volume 8, page 707).

(2) Dr. Hardy (in Kellaw's Registers) and Wilkins assert the same.

(3) Dodds, *Bishops' Boroughs:* "The fact that the Wapentake of Sadberge was reckoned part of the Kingdom of Northumberland until the close of the twelfth century is not conclusive evidence that the Bishopric was so reckoned.
"Nor is there a solution of the mystery, when the Wapentake of Sadberge was first united to Northumberland, nor when they were separated."

(4) Lapsley, *Palatinate of Durham:* "The Wapentake of Sadberge was reckoned a parcel of the County of Northumberland until the close of the twelfth century." (Page 20.)
"The Sheriff of Northumberland reported that he had ten knights' fees in the Wapentake of Sadberge." (Page 286.)

(5) Longstaff, in the *History of Darlington* (page 120): "The Hill of the Sessions at Sadberge, as applied to the Wapentake, is the hill, or court, or mark moat of archers. Such was the ancient Saxon Wapentake of Sadberge."

Appendix B.

The Wapentake purchased by Pudsey in 1189 is thus described by Eden in his *History of Durham* (page 122): "Sadberge means the 'Hill of Pleas,' and it marks the place where the people of the shire in the early days of the Engle settlement in Northumbria met to arrange their public affairs. The open-air assembly, for purposes of law-making and justice-doing, was customary with all the Aryan peoples, and traces can be found of it, and in places as far apart as India, Greece, Italy, and Germany.
"Sadberge had been for centuries the centre of a district or shire which extended to the west beyond Barnard Castle. When the

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Danes became a dominant power in the North, this district got to be called a Wapentake; and it was by this title, 'The Wapentake of Sadberge,' that Bishop Pudsey bought it, and annexed it for all time to the County Palatine of Durham, including all rights of government over this ancient district, *i.e.*, the exclusive right to make, explain, and enforce laws and impose taxes according to custom."

Appendix C.

We return to the statement of Surtees: "Sadberge was certainly an *ancient Saxon Wapentake*." Now what was an ancient Saxon Wapentake? There are many answers, and we give a few in addition to Skeat.

(1) Hutchinson (volume III, page 209): "Et quod Angli vocant Hundredum supra dicti comitatus vocant Wapantachum." Hovenden derives it, "A Tactu armorum," and describes the ceremony thus: "Cum quis congregari omnes assurgebant ei. Ipse vero erecta lancea sua, ab omnibus secundum morem foedus accipiebat, omnes enim quotquot venissent cum lanciis suis ipsius hastem tangebant per contractum armorum pace palam concessa," etc.

It was a Saxon institution and not the creation either of the Conqueror or Richard I.

(2) *Wœpon*, *i.e.*, Arms; *Takon*, to touch.
Wappon, *i.e.*, a Coat of Arms.
Wapentake is touching a weapon and thereby swearing fealty.

(3) Wapentake is a Court of Arms or Heraldry. A Wapentake is a Court-of-Arms day, pledging military service.

(4) "Wappon, *i.e.*, Weapon, and those who touched the Coat of Arms swore to maintain 100 warriors" (Carr).

(5) "Land held by military service by touching a weapon and swearing fealty, binding the holder and his attendants to military service, from which arose Halmot Courts, the Mote or Assembly which met in the Customary Court" (Longstaff, page 271).

(6) Anciently a Wapentake was the principal administration division of the counties of York, Lincoln, Leicester, Nottingham, Derby, and Rutland, corresponding to the hundreds of the southern counties; and in the North (*i.e.*, beyond the Humber) Sadberge was the only Saxon Wapentake.

(7) The author of *The Roman Fort at Piercebridge*: "The origin of the word Wapentake has formed the subject of much conjecture. The word appears to be of Scandinavian origin, the Norse *Vapnatax* being cognate with the English *Weapon-take*. *Originally* it had reference to an assembly of men for purpose of military defence, and, subsequently, to the district which they represented. How the change came about is not perhaps difficult to understand, but it cannot be ascertained with any definiteness. When the term Wapentake had acquired its territorial significance, it stood for a number of townships for the purpose of judicial administration, of peace and of defence. It occurs late in Anglo-Saxon records, and as it is only found in Anglian districts may have been a relic of the Danish occupation."

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"Like the Hundred, the Wapentake no longer exists as a distinct division of a county, at any rate for any purpose of local government, though its name is still used to describe a district."—See Stubbs' *Constitutional History of England*, 1874 (vol. I, page 96). "What the English call Hundred the Saxon called Wapentake." Hovenden describes it as the touching of arms, and describes the ceremony thus: "When anyone took over the leadership of a Wapentake, on a fixed day all the leading men met in the place where they had been accustomed to gather together, and crowded round him as he dismounted from his horse. He put his lance erect, and against another's spear, Wapenschau (*i.e.*, Weapon show), an exhibition of arms made at certain times, in certain districts Wapentagium.

In Bishop Hatfield's *Survey*, 1377-80, Canon Greenwell defines the word as "A territorial division, used in the northern counties: another name for Hundreds, used in the Palatinate in connection with Sadberge."—See the Glossary.

The Encyclopædia Brittanica says: "Wapentake is *only* used, in the north, of Sadberge."

Dodds, in *Bishops' Boroughs*, says: "The Wapentake of Sadberge was treated as a *separate county*."

The Saxon Wapentake of Sadberge was probably a military gathering, where the chief warrior lifted his lance and his followers touched their chief's lance and swore to follow him in any and every military enterprise he undertook.

We conclude with a quotation from Dr. Hardy, Bishop Kellaw's Registers:—

"For more than a century after the Conquest, the Wapentake of Sadberge formed no part of the Franchise of St. Cuthbert, and was treated as part of the Kingdom of Northumberland. Whatever else may be said, this is fact. The Wapentake of Sadberge is a venerable and ancient Saxon institution, the *origin of which is lost in the mist of ages*."

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CHAPTER VI.

Was the Wapentake of Sadberge distinct from the Franchise of St. Cuthbert?

In dealing with this question of the origin of the Saxon Wapentake, or its extent, we are met with these insuperable difficulties.

(i) "No Anglo-Saxon MSS. exist regarding the See" (Langley).

(ii) The county of Durham did not exist during the reign of the Saxon Kings.

(iii) There was no Bishop of Durham in Saxon times. His predecessors were (1) Bishops of Lindisfarne from 685. (2) Bishops of Chester-le-Street from 900 to 995, when Aldham transferred the See to Dunelm, and became Bishop of Durham.

(iv) The destruction of MSS. relating to this period. The task of obtaining accurate information has been rendered not merely difficult, but almost impossible, by the ruthless destruction of historical documents. Bishop Tunstall (1580-1) writes to Cardinal Wolsey, who for a time was in charge of Sadberge Gaol: "The Chancery of Durham, where all the records lay, was spoiled, as well of records, as of all other stuff that was there." In 1587, in payment roll, appears: "Paid the morning after St. Luke's day (Oct. 18th), to Marmaduke Chargenot 5/-, and other of his company, and Robert Lewin 5/-, for helping to save the records in the Chancery in the time of spoiling the same, 10/-." (Appendix III.)

Bishop Cosin (1660-72) collected documents in a great iron chest, which was kept in the Castle Gatehouse at Durham, probably intending to publish them. At his death his executors removed the chest, and the Bishop's letters, papers, and correspondence from the Gatehouse, to Helperby, in Yorkshire. Here they passed into the possession of

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Mr. Bassett (who had married Lady Gerrard), and she was entitled to most of Bishop Cosin's estate. To prevent all disputes, she ordered all the papers to be burnt!

Eight or nine large chests were thus, with their contents, destroyed!

Parson Tong, rector of Brancepeth, who succeeded Cosin, rescued a few papers relating to the parish of Brancepeth. Yet Tong's salvage has also disappeared, together with a volume of precious transcripts much used by Bishop Cosin and known as the *Red Book*.

Surtees, in his *History of Durham* (vol. IV, page 107), records the destruction of historical papers. "In the eighteenth century these records seem to have been regarded as waste paper to fill broken windows; and even *kites* were made of historical documents" (Lapsley). "The records of the Chancery Court of Durham were mostly on paper, and were ill preserved, and had absolutely *disappeared*" (*Spearman's Inquiry*, pages 55-6). No wonder it is asserted that *no Anglo-Saxon* MSS. exist.

In 1870, all remaining records in the city of Durham were removed to London. Many records were those of ecclesiastics, and these the Ecclesiastical Commissioners claimed; records earlier than Henry VIII were deposited in the Record Office, and these are not produced without a written permission from the secretary.

Considering these facts, it is no wonder that to us in the twentieth century the *extent* of the Saxon Wapentake of Sadberge is involved in uncertainty.

Now Bishop Kellaw was Bishop of Durham from 1311-16, and from his Registers we know the *extent* of the Wapentake of Sadberge in his day, yet Dr. Hardy, in his preface to these Registers, says: "Before the Conquest, it is indisputable that at the southern extremity of what is now the county of Durham there was a large tract known as the Wapentake of Sadberge, which at the Conquest was regarded as part of the county of Northumberland, perhaps on account of its being part of the possession of the ancient Earldom of Northumberland. . . . How it became united to, or separated from Northumberland, has not been satisfactorily ascertained. In all probability it came to the Crown when Robert de Mowbray was deprived of the Earldom of Northumberland for treason by William Rufus, after the execution of Earl Waltheof, 1075, when Walcher was the Norman Bishop of Durham." (Hardy.) Again: "It deserves notice that in the fifth year of Edward II, 1812, an Injunction was taken before the Sheriff and Escheator of Northumberland, relative to land lying between Tyne and

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Tees within the Wapentake of Sadberge, and returned into the King's Chancery" (Dr. Hardy, Kellaw's Registers). "It has not been ascertained what was the extent of the Wapentake of Sadberge" (Dr. Hardy). It may be added, it is more than probable it will *never* be known what was the exact extent, but Dr. Hardy adds an example of the exercise of the rights of the Bishop: "In 1312 the Bishop, having heard that the Nobles were gathering their forces for a great tournament in Darlington, within his Wapentake, wrote a peremptory letter to his Coroner at Sadberge, instructing him to prevent any such things, for he would not have it in his liberty."

We leave the *extent* of the Wapentake of Sadberge to the investigation and learning of antiquarians. As far as we know, during the Saxon period, the Wapentake was outside the See of either Lindisfarne or Chester-le-Street, and was distinct from the Franchise of St. Cuthbert, being reserved as a state peculiar, probably for military reasons, until Bishop Pudsey, in 1189, purchased it from Richard I, and annexed it to the See of Durham. As to its extent, we add two facts: (1) Lombard, a barrister of Lincoln's Inn, who died 1601, in his *Dictionary* (page 324) writes: "Satbergea in Chron. Lindisfarne conteyning (as I think) the greater part of that which we now call the Bishopric of Durham." (2) "Annis 8 et 9 Ed. II. (1315). Inq et presentaceous capt coram . . . . . de terris infra Tyne et Tees, infra Wapentake of Sadberge. Aet canc Westn."

Let us consider the query, was the Franchise or Patrimony of St. Cuthbert the *same* as the Wapentake of Sadberge, or did they differ? The Franchise of St. Cuthbert was an ecclesiastical endowment of the land between the Tyne and Tees. The Wapentake of Sadberge was a Saxon military institution linking the holding of lands with military service. They differed in fact, and also in purpose. The Venerable Bede records: "So much land was given by Kings for founding monasteries, that there was not sufficient left on occasions for the necessary armed forces for the defence of the country."

At the Conquest, the greater part of the county was held by Ecclesiastics!

It is remarkable how the Anglo-Saxon Church, little by little, became the great landowner in and outside the county.

The Saxon King Egfrid gave "Craik and three miles round, so that the Bishops of Lindisfarne, in passing to and from York (the then Ecclesiastical centre), might have a resting place on their journeys."

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Ella, the first Bretwalda of Saxon race in the fifth century, seized Craik, and it passed from the Church; but the Conqueror restored it; William Rufus again seized it, and Henry I restored it to the Church. King John confirmed this, and recited King Egfrid's gift, and Henry's and his own Acts, so that Coke says: "Craik's hire shall be impleaded in the county of Durham, and no other place."

Cuthheard, the last Bishop of Lindisfarne, and the first at Chester-le-Street, purchased Bedlington, where the body of St. Cuthbert had rested when it was removed from Holy Island. This purchase embraced Nedderton, Chippington, Sleekburn, Cambois, Grubba and Twizel, all in Northumberland. Bishop Walter de Kirkham, 1249-60, freed these tenants in Bedlingtonshire from the duty of repairing Bedlington Hall, and permitted them to grind their own corn. Richard II, December 4th, 1383, by charter, acknowledged that Bedlingtonshire was parcel of the Bishopric and royal liberty of St. Cuthbert, and had palatinate rights.

A Court was held in Bedlington in the time of Henry VII, 1498, and the jurors decided: "Anchorage and wreck of sea, and all other regalia within the lordship of Bedlingtonshire, belongs solely to the Lord Bishop as being his right, and to none other." These royal rights continued until in the twenty-seventh year of Henry VII, Bedlingtonshire was placed in the county of Durham, and the rights of the Bishop were curtailed. (See preface to Kellaw's Registers.)

(1) Egfrith, a Saxon king, gave the Bishop of Lindisfarne all the land between the Tyne and the Wear.

(2) Guthred, the Dane and vassal of King Alfred, as King of Northumbria, about 874, gave to the See of Lindisfarne, the chair of which was then temporarily established at Chester-le-Street, all the land between the Tyne and Tees, dedicating it to St. Cuthbert, and this was called "The Franchise of St. Cuthbert."

Symeon of Durham, who was an early historian of Durham, records: "In a vision to Eadred, St. Cuthbert commanded the Danes and Angles to ransom Guthred, a slave of noble birth, a Dane, and make him King of Northumbria. He was the son of Hardicanute, a King of Northumbria. Guthred was led to Oswin's Dune (the Hill of Oswin) and made King of Northumbria, yet a vassal of King Alfred, who previously had made him King of East Anglia." Guthred was indebted to Bishop Eadred, and a second vision of St. Cuthbert led Guthred (1) to confirm the gift of land between the Tyne and Wear; (2) to grant the land between

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the Tyne and Tees to St. Cuthbert, as the Franchise of St. Cuthbert.

Prior to this gift of St. Cuthbert's Franchise, the See of Lindisfarne held three outlying portions. (1) North Durham, which included Norhamshire and Islandshire. (2) Bedlingtonshire. (3) Crayke, which was added to St. Cuthbert's patronage, was included in the county of Durham, and was endowed with the privileges of St. Cuthbert, such as the right of sanctuary, whereby a criminal was safe from arrest by the York police, or by the courts or Mayor of York. Such were the Ecclesiastical possessions at the Conquest. These possessions, though vast, were Ecclesiastical and not military, whereas the Wapentake of Sadberge was a Saxon institution for military purposes, and Dr. Hardy says: "For more than a century after the Norman Conquest, the Wapentake of Sadberge formed no part of the Franchise of St. Cuthbert, and was treated as part of Northumberland." (See Kellaw's Registers.)

The *Encyclopædia Brittanica* (vol. 8, page 708): "From the Norman Conquest, the Bishop's possessions included nearly all the district between Tyne and Tees, *except* Sadberge." This was likely, for the Wapentake of Sadberge was a military protection, which neither Saxon, nor Dane, nor Norman, were likely to surrender.

Dr. Hardy: "The Wapentake of Sadberge was admitted into the Franchise of St. Cuthbert in the time of Bishop Bury, 1888-45." If so, the Wapentake was distinct from the Franchise for about 500 years! Again: "In early times Sadberge was a Franchise peculiar to the tenants of the Earls of Northumberland, which placed them on an equality with those belonging to the Franchise of Dunelm; otherwise they would have found it no small hardship to live surrounded by men having certain legal privileges which they had not. However, it is evident that after Sadberge was separated from the Earldom of Northumberland, and came to belong to the Bishop of Durham, and so was *added* to his Palatinate, it still retained its own ancient privileges *distinct* from those of the Palatinate, though in many respects closely resembling them" (Preface to Kellaw's Registers). Certainly the Wapentake was distinct from the Franchise of St. Cuthbert, and it is asserted that Bishop Bury linked them in the fourteenth century. "Whatever may have been the monetary value of the Wapentake of Sadberge, there must have been something more connected with them than has reached us, or the Bishops of Durham would not have shown so much anxiety to retain, and a fixed determination *not* to lose them" (Hodgson Hinde, *History of Northumberland*).

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We add evidence from the fourteenth century that the Wapentake of Sadberge was not the Franchise of St. Cuthbert, though in Bishop Bury's day they were joined.

(1) Edward I claimed the Bishop's rights, and also the Manor and Wapentake of Sadberge, but this was asserted as a new claim on the part of the King and *extraneum* his rights.

(2) In ninth year of Edward II, inquest at the Court of Northumberland of lands between Tyne and Tees infra Wapentake of Sadberge in court at Westminster. Evidently as late as 1300 the Wapentake of Sadberge embraced the Franchise of St. Cuthbert.

(3) In 1311 Canc Sadberge. "An agreement in the Court of the Lord Bishop at Sadberge before Lambertide Thirkington." Penes W. Chaytor de Croft. So in the time of Edward II the Wapentake retained its Court of Justice.

Bishop Beck appealed against the King's seizure. The appeal was allowed without further dispute, and the seizure of the liberties was revoked and entirely annulled. Thus the independence of the Bishop's Franchise was asserted.

Dr. Hardy, in Kellaw's Registers, says: "I think Guthred's gift of the Franchise of St. Cuthbert was the *basis* of the Wapentake of Sadberge, which Bishop Pudsey, by purchase, added to the See." If this is fact, then:—

(1) The Wapentake was distinct from St. Cuthbert's Franchise.

(2) The Wapentake embraced (i) all the lands between Tyne and Tees; (ii) Crayke in Yorkshire and three miles around; (iii) Norhamshire and Bedlingtonshire and Allontownshire.

Lapsley (page 148): "The Wapentake of Sadberge, which lies between the Tyne and Tees, was not acquired till 1187, and in '*Quo Warranto*' of 1293, the liberties of the Bishopric are described as within the precinct of the county of Northumberland."

I would suggest that the Palatinate rights enjoyed by the Bishops of Durham were inherited from the Earls of *Northumberland*, and did not separately belong to the See, previous to Bishop Walcher, 1071-1081.

Lapsley (page 148): "The fact that the Wapentake of Sadberge was reckoned as parcel of the county of Northumbria till the close of the twelfth century is no proof that the Bishopric was." Certainly, for the See was a spiritual provision, and the Wapentake a military institution.

Perhaps, from the time of Guthred, the Franchise of St. Cuthbert existed alongside the Wapentake of Sadberge, which was the earlier of the two, and in the time of Bishop Bury were united, though the Wapentake Court continued to exercise its jurisdiction.

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CHAPTER VII.

Sadberge Wapentake, as it can be traced in the Bolden Buke of 1183.

The materials of Sadberge Wapentake are so meagre that we are compelled to study the books published in 1085 and 1183—one by the King's command, and the other by the Bishop of Durham in 1183.

These two books give glimpses and descriptions of customs in the eleventh and twelfth centuries in the Franchise of St. Cuthbert.

The exact date of the institution of the Saxon Wapentake and its extent will probably be a mystery and a puzzle for enquirers. Yet it is very remarkable that the word "Saxon" seems to drop after the Conquest; and even the Royal vendor in 1189 merely conveys "the Wapentake and Manor of Sadberge." Why? We can only surmise, yet it points to the deadly feud between Norman and Saxon.

Doomsday Book. The Saxon chronicle, which is the register in the monasteries, thus speaks of the Conqueror's book: "The Survey was a sign of his grasping that not an ox, nor hide, nor cow, nor yard of land escaped the Survey." Again: "So much the Conqueror loved the deer, that he might have been their father, for he who slays deer or hind, him man must blind"—which was the Conqueror's favourite punishment for his enemies.

Having recorded the opinions of the monks, who were not the special favourites of the Conqueror, we add the testimony of the French historian, Thierry: "The King's name heads his domains and revenues; the names of chief officers and infirm proprietors in the order of military rank and wealth. The Saxons who had been spared are in the lowest schedule; a few, who were free proprietors, are tenants-in-chief of the King, and had slender domains. At the end of each chapter they appear as *Thanes* of the King, or servants of the King; the rest as farmers, holding

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by a precarious title of the Norman earls, barons, knights, serjeants, bowmen. So complete the spoliation of the Saxon nobles, that it records the quarrels of the conquerors amongst themselves, for the inheritance of the Saxon."

Such is a Frenchman's description of the Norman Conqueror's *Doomsday Book*.

"It appears that the Survey recorded in this book was determined in 1085, and, from the colophon of the book, was completed in 1086. The exact year of its publication seems doubtful." (*Encyclopædia Brittanica*, vol. 8, p. 898.)

"Royal officers visited each county; an enquiry was held probably in county court; each township was represented, and also local lords, and the unit of the enquiry was the Hundred. The return from each Hundred was sworn by a local jury, half English and half Norman. The returns for the county of Cambridge are preserved." (See *Encyclopædia Brittanica*, volume 8, page 898.)

"It was called *Doomsday Book* because there was no appeal from it." (See *Dialogus de Seccario*.)

The counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland and Durham were omitted from the Survey. At that time Cumberland and Westmoreland formed part of Scotland; and in all probability it was too hazardous to survey the other two counties. The *Encyclopædia Brittanica* asserts: "The omission of these four counties has not been satisfactorily explained."

It appeared in two volumes, in vellum. The first volume was a large folio; the second was quarto. Primarily it was to aid taxation; and it dwells more on the details of the actual wealth and resources of the country from 1066 to 1086, and *less* on the laws and customs regulating this wealth. Saxon customs were not forgotten, for the Conqueror frequently collected them, and by this Survey he gave them perpetuity, and by this enquiry he sought full knowledge of what he had inherited as the heir of Edward the Confessor.

By the Conqueror, the upper strata of the agricultural class were reduced to the level of their inferiors. Freemen were decreased, and a generation or two later greatly disappeared and were merged into the *villein* class; in fact, he turned England into a Feudal State.

The contents of the Survey were re-arranged and classified into Fiefs. Instead of appearing under Hundreds and Townships, they appear under the names of local Barons, *i.e.*, those who held land directly from the Crown in fee. (1) The King, (2) Churchmen, (3) Religious Houses, (4) Lay Tenants-in-chief (Barons), (5) Women-servientes, and a few

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English *Thegns* who retained their land. The primary object was to ascertain and record the fiscal rights of the King.

(1) A national land tax (*geldum*) paid in a fixed assessment.

(2) Certain miscellaneous dues.

(3) The proceeds of Crown lands.

It recorded :—

(1) The assessment of the Manors. In this it is linked with the Norman Manor of Sadberge.

(2) The amount of arable land.

(3) The number of ploughing teams (reckoned at eight oxen) available for working it.

(4) The peasants were enumerated in several classes. The annual value of the whole, past and present, was estimated.

(5) It recorded the military service due, the various markets, the mints, and other sources of revenue. Thus it enabled the King and his officers to see at a glance the extent of a baron's possession, and how far he had enfeoffed his under-tenants. This was a matter of importance, for he desired those under-tenants to be his servants, and not the baron's. These Norman nobles who succeeded to English estates were inclined to evade their legal obligations; and this *Doomsday* Survey gives the names of the holders of baronies, and their assessments.

It gave a valuation (1) at the time of Edward the Confessor's death; (2) stated the date when the new occupier entered upon it; (3) it gave the annual value in 1085, when the Survey took place. It recorded (1) the assessment of the various manors; (2) amount of arable land in each, and its assessment per annum; (3) it recorded the number of persons required to work the land; (4) it gave the subsidiary revenues arising from fisheries, weirs, salt and other minerals, water-mills, etc.

Its military system was Feudal, Barons, Knights, he retained the right to call the "Fyid" in to summon *en masse* for military purposes, whether freemen or *villeins*, and the *villein* must sue in his lord's Manorial Court, yet also subject to the Royal Court of the Hundred or Shire.

Thus the *Doomsday Book* of 1085 has links with the Manor of Sadberge, which Bishop Pudsey added to the Franchise of St. Cuthbert in 1189.

There may be another reason why Bishop Pudsey ordered the Survey which produced the Bolden Buke, and that is the quarrel between Henry II and the Bishop. The King demanded from the Bishop a list of his feudal

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tenants, their knights' fees, etc., to which the Bishop replied: "Ten knights' fees held by him in Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, and the Lordship of Blessed Cuthbert on his own demesne there are no knights' fees, and in respect of all knights' fees, he is responsible to the King for ten knights' fees."

"Super dominum Vero nostrum de quo similiter Mandare præceptis, nulla sunt forda Militum nec ulla debemus. Nam de hiis omnibus, quos supra diximus servitum X Militum tantum Vobis debemus, Valant dominus Meus."

Such is the spirited reply of the Prince-Bishop to King Henry II, as recorded in Chapter IX, *Scriptores Tres.* Lapsley, in his book on the *Durham Palatinate*, adds: "It is a curious fact that in the scutage of 1201 the Bishop is held responsible for ten knights' fees, which are reckoned as of the Wapentake of Sadberge, for this corner of the Palatinate was acquired by exchange and purchase from Richard I, and the transaction was in legal memory. In 1189 the Wapentake contained but two and a fraction knights' fees. How, then, were these consolidated with the ten fees in the lands of St. Cuthbert? For these the Bishop was already responsible, and the whole charged as ten fees in Sadberge. With our present information the question cannot be answered. It is clear that, in respect to the King, the Bishop was treated as other feudal tenants, but it is difficult to determine what method would have been used to distrain for scutage, since the King acknowledged that his officers might not enter the Palatinate. The question is obscure." (Lapsley, pages 286-7.)

The King died in 1189. The Bishop, by the Survey in Bolden Buke in 1188, had ascertained the revenues derived from the Manors in the Patrimony of St. Cuthbert, and in the first year of Richard I he purchased the Manor of Sadberge, and thereby became owner of all minerals in the Franchise of St. Cuthbert, and perhaps it can be shown that the Bishop made a good bargain, and a valuable addition to the Franchise of St. Cuthbert.

We will now consider the Bishop's Survey in 1188, almost 100 years after *Doomsday Book.*

The Bolden Book. "The name is derived from Bolden, a parish four miles south of South Shields. The Manor of Bolden formed part of the possessions of the See of Durham from time immemorial. Its name is derived, probably, from its frequent references to the Manor of Bolden, and it appears first in this Survey. It was long in the Dean and Chapter Library at Durham, and was published for the

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Record Commission; such is the statement of the *Universal Gazetteer*."

It is not improbable that the example of the Norman King in ascertaining the revenues of his kingdom, led the Prince-Bishop to order this Survey called the Bolden Buke. It was a valuation of the lands and manors in the Patrimony of St. Cuthbert.

(1) It is a record of the revenues, customs, rents, dues, received by the Bishop.

(2) It is a return of the services owing to the Bishop.

(3) What Doomsday Buke was to the Norman King, Bolden Buke was to the Prince-Bishop.

All the lands between Tyne and Tees belonged to the Bishop, yet mineral wealth was the property of the Lords of the Manors, and this Survey gave the Bishop the revenues derived from the hidden wealth beneath the surface, and when these things are considered, it is little wonder that six years after the Survey he purchased the Manor and Wapentake of Sadberge, and, further, when we consider the annual income in 1183, the Bishop did not make a bad bargain.

This Bolden Buke in 1183, though it is silent as to the Manor and Wapentake of Sadberge, because they belonged to the Crown, is of historical value.

We shall quote phrases, customs, dues paid to the Bishop in 1183, which throw light on the Manor and Wapentake of Sadberge when purchased by the Bishop in 1189.

Fines in Bolden Buke.

(1) Very large sums paid to win the King's favour or mitigate his anger.

(2) Were paid to secure a Wardship.

(3) Licence to have a certain person to wife.

(4) Licence to women to marry whom they liked.

(5) Fine to succeed to office held by ancestors.

(6) Fines to recover debts, a fourth, or third, or half the debt.

Corrodinon. A corrody, food, sustenance.

It was food which the Bishop gave his *villeins*. Regular food in hospital to a brother or sister was *corrody*.

Crowdy, oatmeal on which boiling water had been poured, is probably from *corrodum*. Crowdy is made in Sadberge about Passion Week.

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Cornage. This was commutation payment to the lord in cattle—returns from land in twelfth century being generally in kind—it is a very ancient tenure. From Bolden Buke the *Cornage* returns :—

In Cumberland -	£85	8s.	8d.
,, Westmoreland -	£55	19s.	8d.
,, Durham - -	£110	5s.	5d.
,, Northumberland -	£20	0s.	0d.

Cumberland and Westmoreland, before the end of the ninth century, were severed from Northumbria, and were not remitted to English Crown till William Rufus. Cumberland was long under the King of Scotland. King John had an inquisition relating to the cornage of Cumberland, preserved in Testa de Neville, (1) military service when King's Army was in Scotland, in van going, rear returning; (2) Rent annual.

Assisa, Redditus Assisæ, was something settled—defined.

(1) Assisa of saleable goods. It determined weight, measure, quantity, quality, price of articles.

(2) *Redditus Assisæ.* Assize *Rent*: the fixed unchangeable sum paid by those who held free tenure, as opposed to the sums exacted by the lord from those who held by servile tenure.

Auxilium Commune. Common aid for three purposes.

(1) To make the lord's son a knight.

(2) To marry his daughter.

(3) To redeem the lord from captivity.

Marca. Not a coin, but computation of money worth 13/4. There was the Marci Auri—Marci Argenti. The latter is what occurs in Bolden Buke.

Malmannus. Were inferior tenants, as opposed to those who held in free tenure or drengage. In the York Pipe Roll, Henry I, 1100, the word is Latinised, "*Minuti Homines.*" Bishop Hatfield's Survey identified them with Firmarii of the Bolden Buke, in an entry under Norton Tenantes.

Multura. Secta Multuras or ad Molendinuns was a service by which tenants were bound to grind their corn at the *lord's* mill, giving such portions of the meal as the terms of their tenure imposed.

Haliwerfole (page xliv): "Hugo dei gratia Dunelmensis Episcopus Baronibus Militibus, et omnibus homimbus suis, de *Haliwerfole* Francis et Angles Salutern."

These were men in the Palatinate of Durham, who held their lands by the service of defending and protecting the

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body of St. Cuthbert, in the Franchise of St. Cuthbert, within the Tyne and Tees. They were not obliged to go beyond either river to defend the Bishop, or his Palatinate without their consent. At a later date than Bishop Pudsey, his successor, Bishop Beck, in his conflict with the King of Scotland, took these Haliwerfole defenders of St. Cuthbert's body into Scotland and, of course, beyond the limits of the Tyne. They left the Bishop to fight the Scots and returned to Durham. The Bishop charged them with desertion, and their defence was that the conditions on which they held their lands were to defend the body of St. Cuthbert within the Franchise of the Saint, but that Scotland was beyond the Tyne, and outside their obligations to the Bishop, and the court acquitted the Haliwerfole.

Firma. Anglo-Saxon *Feorma* is food. Originally it was paid in kind. The Sheriff of each county rendered a yearly account, a fixed sum, with which the county was charged. It was calculated from the Assize Rents and Fines of the County Courts, and the sum was Farmœ. In Doomsday Book the Ferm was the customary rent of Manors, Counties, and Boroughs. The Fermer was a person who provided for the King's household.

Fermæ in 1183 had a variety of meanings.

(1) The Assize Rents of the different Manors.

(2) It was used of the tenant who farmed the Bishop's demesne.

(3) The rent itself, whether in kind or money. The tenants of Thornton, in North Durham, are said to carry the Ferm into Durham, *i.e.*, they carried their rent to the city.

Escarta. Escheat, the dissolution of the tenure or mutual bond between the lord and his tenant, either from having no heir, treason, or felony. Thus the land reverted to the Lord of the Manor.

Fiedum. A fief, fee, feodum, a property given in recompense by way of pay or reward. At first feodum was granted for life, and gradually became hereditary. It was an estate received from a superior by way of recompense, or favour, but which entailed certain duties and services to be rendered.

Foedum Militis was the Knight's fee. It was a certain portion of land held of a superior lord, by Knight's service, *i.e.*, the duty of providing in war a Knight in full armour for a certain number of days. The quantity of land for a Knight's fee varied from eight to fifty-two carucates—as much arable land as a yoke can plough in a year. It also carried the following duties: (1) Wardship; (2) Marriage; (3) Relief; (4) Aid; (5) Homage; (6) Tolls.

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Theam—Infantheof—gallows—were Courts of certain liberties, to hold which fines were paid. (See Glossary Bolden Buke LX.)

Yare. A dam thrown across a river to impede the free run of salmon, and so force them through the lock or trap, where they were taken.

Kapier, near Durham, is from *kap*, to catch, and Yare, which crossed the river at that place. In Bishop Beck's Rolls (page xxxix), the Yare at Whickham had been destroyed by the men of Prudhoe, a lordship of Umfervillers, higher up the Tyne, probably because it stopped the passage of salmon. So in the nineteenth century Dinsdale Dam, in the Tees, was removed to allow the salmon to pass freely, and to avoid flooding the adjoining lands.

Yolwayting. Yol is the old northern name for Christmas. *Wayting* may refer to the service connected with the Manor House, in which the Bishop happened to spend Christmas.

Waths is German for watching, guarding. Perhaps our modern Waits were simply watchmen moving from street to street, and enlivening the night by music. When not moving about, they seem to have had stations, *e.g.*: In a rental of free tenants, 8, Bishop Langley, 1414, under Sunderland, is the following entry:—"De quadam placea Vocata Yoleway testand." One of the old towers in Newcastle was formerly called *Waits* Tower.

Purprestura (XV). An encroachment enclosure on lord's desmesne, a forest, or highways.

Relevamen—Relevum (41). Relief, a payment made to the lord by the son or heir, if of age, of a late tenant, for leave to take the lapsed estate or tenancy on the death of the late tenant, at first arbitrary, afterwards, a certain quantity arms, or money. Henry II, 1154, provided that every man's armour should descend to his heir for defence of the realm, and so he made a money payment necessary, and it was fixed at 100/- for every knight's fee.

Scatcaldra. Seachalder. A *chalder* after the measure of the Exchequer. In Bolden Buke (1) The Bishop's measure; (2) Exchequer measure; (3) Measure of the Hall, Heighington; (4) Yarn, measure.

Scatpenny. Anglo-Saxon *Sceat*, money tax, contribution, "Scot and Lot," all taxes in general are included in the term.

Assisas (Mint). It is unknown when the Episcopal Mint was first established.

Coins of William I or II, minted at Durham, have been found, but these are probably at the Royal Mint at Durham. From the Bolden Buke, 1183, the privilege of coining had

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been taken from the Bishop, perhaps in 1154, when Henry II seized the revenues. It was not restored till 1196, when Richard I gave a licence to Bishop Philip de Pictavia to coin money. The site of the Bishop's Mint was on the east side of the Palace Green (see Bishop Skirlaw's Survey, 1888-1406). The Mint occupied the place where the Bishop's stables now stand.

Batillus. A boat—in Bishop Beck's Roll it means the Ferryboat over the Tees at Stockton.

Averpenny. Money paid by a tenant in commutation of the service or *avera* (work), by ox, horse, or carriage.

Heriot. Military equipment, arms of a vassal, given up at his death by the heir to his lord. It was a personal chattel and no charge on the land. In time it was commuted by a money payment. (LXIII.)

Kirsete (XLXI). Circe-Seat, a church Scot, a due, paid to a priest on St. Martin's Day, the firstfruits of the harvest to secure a blessing.

Servitum Militare. This is Knight's service, and the most universal and honourable land tenure. The land required was called a Knight's Fee. In the third year of Edward I it was estimated at twelve carucates, and valued at £20 yearly. Its holder must attend his lord for forty days at the war, if required. In the Bolden Buke we have instances of persons holding half and other portions of a Knight's Fee, for which they were bound to serve half or a quarter of the days in proportion to their holding. In time it was commuted to a money payment called "Scutage," Scutaginna, Excuage, or Knight's Service, which carried the following burdens: (1) Aid; (2) Relief; (3) Wardship; (4) Marriage; (5) Fines for Aliens; (6) Escheat.

Stengesduit (PXL III). Probably from Anglo-Saxon *steng, stang,* a club; *sting-an,* to push into; and *wite,* a fine; thus, a fine inflicted for an assault by stick or similar instrument. In the Charter of Bishop Pudsey to Wearmouth, it is found in conjunction with *blodwite:* probably, with *stengesduit,* it included blood-shedding by beating with some blunt weapon.

Teolonum. Theolonem. Tolmetum. Toll paid for liberty to buy or sell on the lord's land or in his Wapentake. A payment for goods sold at a fair or market within the Manor or Wapentake. It is used for the right to brew or sell beer.

Toftum. Probably a piece of ground on which a cottage and office of a servile holder stood, including a garden. *Croftum* is the garden, *toft* the cottage.

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Capallus de Paronibus. The Capallus, a diminutive ab *capa*, was the hood or cape which for centuries formed the covering for the head and shoulders of all classes. At the end of the fifteenth century its pendant part was cut, and it took the form of a bonnet. Now it is the hood of a degree.

Scatpenny. A customary payment made to the lord by the inferior tenants of his Manor or Wapentake.

Tallia. A piece of wood on which notches were cut, extending from one side to the other. It was split into twos, and the debtor could see if the account tallied. These tallies of wood are constantly used in the Exchequer.

In *Tallia* we have the origin of Teller. A *Teller* in the House of Commons is not an unknown person.

Ingeniator. Any man cunning or skilful in work, hence our word "Engineer."

Stallagium (page 41). A payment to the lord, for a stall or temporary shop in any market fair in the Lord's Manor or Wapentake. Under the Parish Council Act of modern times, at the annual Sadberge Feast in September, a representative of the Parish Council collects a toll from all stallholders, or stands, on the village green. They are thus exercising the ancient rights of the Lords of the Manor and Wapentake of Sadberge, when, in the twelfth century, their agents collected *Stallagium* from all stallholders at fairs.

Senescallus. Seneschal. The proper translation is *Steward.*

Averpenny. Money paid by a tenant in commutation of his service (*avera*) of any work, by ox, horse, or carriage.

Averia. All a farmer's animals.

Ænore. Work.

Merchata (pages 39 x LIII) was money payment for a daughter marrying, and thus depriving the lord of her labours. (40 Ed. III.) R. Burre "debet merchet hoc modo, quod si maritare Voluerit filiam suam, cum quodam libero extra Villain faciat pacem domini pro maritagio, et si eam Maritaverit alicui custumario Vill, nihil debit pro maritagio." R. B. owes Merchet this way because if he shall wish to marry his daughter with a certain freeman outside the Villa, let him make peace with his lord for the marriage, and if he shall have married her to some customario of the Vill, he shall owe nothing for her marriage.

All labour was the right of the lord. A married daughter's labour was lost to the lord by her marriage out of the Vill, therefore *Merchet* was due to the lord.

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Re Fines inflicted as Merchet, see Pipe Roll Return 1180. Richard de Sewell for having the daughter of Rt. de Mowbray, 60 marcs (fine Merchet); Wm. de Lee for having the daughter of Reginald de Aclet (Auckland), 15 marcs fine. Roger de Camera for having the daughter of Swain the Chaplin, 40 marcs fine. Richard Holmside 30 marcs fine for having the wife of William de Lech. Robert de Masters for having the wife of Odard de Hodeline, 100 marcs fine. Thomas de Aclai (Aycliffe) 10 marcs fine. Richard Surtees super Teisam owes 60 marcs. Richard super Teisam owes 30 marcs and 1 palfry as is contained in Northumberland of his fine of which the aforesaid keepers owe 15 marcs of which the aforesaid Richard rendered in the account of Northumberland £17 9s. 0d., and so he has a surplus of £4 18s. 0d., which is placed in the Roll of the 15 in Northumberland announcements.

In firnis (fines) redditibus et alliis denarius colligendus (to be collected) in Wapentake Sadberge quia in Manu Regis et ceteri Nichels, 10/5. Summa £11 19s. 4d. (See Pipe Roll Return, 1180.)

Præpositus. Ellis, in preface to Doomsday Book, described him as a "Bailiff or Steward of a Vill or Manor. He collected rents, levied distress, prevented distresses, performed all the offices of equity and right between the lord and his tenants." "In the Bolden Buke the *præpositus* ranked with the *Firmarius*, but he did not pay, nor work as with the villains."—(Glossary.)

Præpositus mentioned in Doomsday and the Bolden Buke is the equivalent to our modern provost or English mayor. Probably it applied to the Bishop when he held the Borough Court, which was the only court in which Burgages could be sued, except in places belonging to the Crown, or where the Bishop's Court made default. We give some quotations from Bolden Buke illustrating *Præpositus* and Rynkald Street, the Roman road through Sadberge.

(1) Et de exitu Stephani præposita (bailiff) de Rikenhald, forisfacto (*Forisfactura*) is a fine, mulct, forfeiture for crimes and so accruing to the lord, coram Marascello Dominis Regis Cwua (Court) Episcopi. Summa £9.

(*Translation:* And a fine of £9 was inflicted on the departure of Stephan, bailiff of Rynkeeld Street, before the Marshall of the Lord King in the Court of the Bishop. Total £9.)

(2) Et de £18, de Roberto præposito de Rikenhale de exitu manerii de Rikenhale per i.j. tallia tradita.

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(*Translation:* And of £18, from Robert, bailiff of Rikenhale, on his departure (or leaving) the Manor of Rikenhale, to render two accounts.)

From these quotations from Bolden Buke, it seems that persons holding office under the lord could not retire without his permission, and on the payment of a fine. Probably a money payment was the condition on which exeats were granted.

(3) Bolden Buke, page 31: Walterius filius Hugonis reddit 12d. pro secta curiæ de Sadberge, et sic quietus de eadem secta.

(*Translation:* Walter, son of Hugh, paid 12d. to the Court of Sadberge, and so was free from the same Court.)

Precatio (page XVII). Boon day. It was the service of a day's work rendered to their lord. At first it was voluntary service, hence the prefix, *precis*, praying. At length it became compulsory service.

Punderus. The Pounder, *i.e.*, the person who had charge of the *Pound;* at a later date called Pinfold. All stray cattle were placed in and kept in until compensation was made for their keep or the damage caused in their wanderings. In the Bolden Buke he was an officer representing the lord of the manor. He received remuneration from the Bishop as lord of the manor, and the tenants paid in kind so many thraves of corn from each plough. To the lord of the manor he returned (1) hens, (2) eggs; and number of both payments are frequent in Bolden Buke.

Sadberge had its County Pinfold in 1890, when it, like many ancient relics, disappeared; and, of course, it must have had its *Punderus.* The Bolden Buke shows that the Sadberge *Punderus* held twelve acres of land, and thus was a small farmer, yet rendered 80 hens and 400 eggs. The Punderus de Wolsynham renders at Christmas and Easter 40 hens and 360 eggs. Punderus at Stanhope officio suo at Christmas 64 hens. In the Bolden Buke he was an officer of the lord of the manor, and was remunerated by grants of land in Sadberge, and probably elsewhere, from the Bishop, and the tenants paid him, in kind, so many thraves of corn from each plough. In the Palatinate, his return to the lord consisted of hens and eggs; and, from the Palatinate accounts, the number of hens and eggs rendered was large.

We give a few quotations from the Bolden Buke of 1183, which may lead to antiquarian research.

(1) "Et de 1d. redd Sadberg Kabyr. Summa 9s. 1d."

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(2) Another entry, "William de Cabery." The question may be asked, Is Kabyr the same as Cabery? Does it refer to an office or place? Is it a 'hundred' in the Wapentake?

Skeat throws no light on the word in his *Etymological Dictionary.* He omits the word altogether. Webster, in his *New International Dictionary,* as "Kabar, the Scotch throwing the Caber in their Highland sports."

We confess that, to us, it is a mystery.

"De placea pegge ibidem."

Skeat omits *pegge,* but gives the word Peg, "a wooden pin, or pynne of timber."

It has been suggested that in late Latin "Pege" is a fountain and that it may be translated "For the use of the well at Sadberge."

The quotation refers to Sadberge, and there was a well in the centre (almost) of the village, and here was the County Pinfold up to 1905, when the Parish Council filled it up to force the villagers to take the Tees Water Boards supply. These quotations are from "Redditus Sadberge cum Wapentake," in the Bolden Buke of 1183. It is true that the Bolden Buke gives no account of the Wapentake and Manor of Sadberge, which linked Church and State, and which endured nearly 700 years, when the creation of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners severed the link, the honours reverting to the Crown and the Commissioners administering the revenues more for the benefit of the many than for the enrichment of a fortunate few. The Bolden Buke is 1183, the link of the Wapentake and Manor with the See dates to 1189, *six years later.*

Whilst fines are recorded in the Bolden Buke, it records also remarkable receipts. The King of Scotland was fined 7,000 marcs, and Henry de Ver received 100 shillings to pay him for his servant carrying this treasure to Norham, whilst £4 6s. was paid for conveying this treasure from Norham to Nottingham (Roll Return). The Bolden Buke shows how the invading Danes were in great numbers amongst Saxons, Angles and Normans, as the following Danish names are found in this Survey:—Alkel (pp. 5, 9, 22), Arket (pp. 10, 11), Ormson of Toki (pp. 14, 15), Sigg? (p. 19), Aik? Arco? (p. 32), Toke Peg. Orin his brother (p. 19), Aukatil (p. 22), Gabul (p. 24), Alf Rauing (p. 25), Gamel (p. 29), Turkil (p. 29), Shore (p. 29), Arkil Hubald (p. 30), Arneld (pp. 34, 38), Cube (p. 41), Meldred (p. 35), Kebel? (p. 14), Dolfin (p. 35), Arcored Benier, Richard filius Ulkalla (p. 41). Probably three Earls of

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Northumberland are named: Waltheof, Uchbred, Cospatric. Probably the following are Ulfs:—Morhar, Ædulph (?), Cudal, Meldus, Meldred, etc. This Danish population is not surprising when it is remembered that prior to the Norman Conquest this northern part of England was called *Danelagh*.

We conclude our quotations from the Bolden Buke by two references, both of which have links with modern Sadberge: (1) The Garmondsway, (2) The old Church at Grindon.

Garmondsway. I think the name perpetuates a family that accompanied William the Conqueror and settled in the county, and I suppose there is a place called "The Way of the Garmonds." I will not presume to define this Way, but persons of the name of Garmondsway settled in Sadberge or its neighbourhood, and a flat tombstone in the centre of the old Norman churchyard records the names of members of the family. Richard Garmondsway signs the parish accounts of Sadberge in 1748 as overseer; and the east window in the church is dedicated to the Glory of God, and was erected by the descendants of the Garmondsway family surviving in the nineteenth century. The following is the description of Garmondsway in the Bolden Buke:

"In Garmondsway are five Oxgangs, which belonged to Ralph Hazet, which the Bishop of his Escheat, and they render 16s. 8d., 10 Hens, 100 Eggs. And the Bishop has there 4 Oxgangs of his own purchase, which lie waste."

Escheat was the dissolution of the tenure, or mutual bond between the lord and his tenant, either from the lack of heirs, treason or felony, and thus the land reverted to the lord.

Sir Thos. Wrightson, Bart., Newsham Hall (Darlington) claims to be a descendant of the Garmondsways.

Grindon. This was the name of the ancient parish. Its modern name is "Thorpe Thewles." The ancient church at Grindon is a ruin, and neglected. Still, it is within a few miles of Sadberge on its east side; and it was here that in 1829 David Piper was ordained, and here he served two years as Curate of Grindon. In 1831 he became *Minister* at Sadberge, and remained there until 1861 on a stipend of £80 per annum; and as there was no endowment to the new Parish, the Patron could find no Incumbent. So he appointed the Curate, who, after such long service, was so exultant with joy at the prospect of a permanent charge, that he took a holiday at Boulogne, and after two months died there, and never became a beneficed priest.

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Now Bolden Buke describes Grindon thus: "Walter de Roth holds Grindon, which the Bishop bought, and gave them for his services. He renders thence two Bizants per annum, and quit of all other services." Now Bizant was an Eastern coin value 2s. Is this gift to de Roth the origin of Grindon and its successor, Thorpe Thewles, being in private patronage?

Such are a few customs in the Manor and Wapentake of Sadberge which can be traced in Bishop Pudsey's Survey in the so-called Bolden Buke of 1183.

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CHAPTER VIII.

Drengage and other Tenures as they appear in the Bolden Buke, 1183, illustrating Customs in the Wapentake and Manor of Sadberge in the 12th Century.

Let us glance at Drengage tenure, as it appears in the Bolden Buke of 1183. The word is variously spelt. Drengag, Drengus-Dre.

Anglo-Saxon, it is "*dressgan*," to do work, hence the modern word drudge.

A drenge was the lowest holder who had a permanent interest in the land. He stood halfway between the villan and the free tenant. He ploughed, harrowed, sowed a certain portion of the Bishop's demesne, made precationes, carried wine, kept a dog, a horse, for the Bishop; attended the great chase in Weardale, with dogs and ropes, and carried messages.

In Doomsday *drenghs* frequently occurs. In modern times, terra inter Ribble et Mersha (Mersey) which formed a part of ancient Northumbria, this land is called *Drengage* (Doomsday, 296 B.)

In Urpeth, formerly in the See of Durham, but now in the Diocese of Carlisle, the Drenge held land, as a servile tenant, like common socage. He had to feed a dog, and keep horse for the Bishop and attend the chase, and repair the corn mills. Drenge tenures occur in Yorkshire and the North of England. We quote:—

"In Great Houghton, Gilbert holds 40 acres for 2s., in exchange for the land which his father held in Drengage, which he quit claimed for those 40 acres, and for 40 marcs which the Bishop gave him, and he ought to be over the precationes and go errands."

"The son of Aldred holds these 40 acres for 2s. which his father held in like manner in Drengage, and he is over the precationes and goes errands."

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"The Drenge at Binchester feeds a dog and horse for the Bishop, and goes errands."

These quotations give the services required.

Drengage in Aucklandshire. This district embraced (1) North Auckland; (2) West Auckland; (3) Escomb; (4) Newton. Perhaps also the modern district of Bishop Auckland.

In this district Drengage seems to have been limited to the Franchise of St. Cuthbert. They made three journeys a year between Tyne and Tees, *e.g.*: "In West Auckland sunt XVII Villain qui tenent (XVI) boretas (oxgangs) et faciunt."

(*a*) ii lades (cartloads) between Tyne and Tees infra Tynam et Tesam.

(*b*) Vedit (go quickly) in legationebus Episcopi infra Tynam et Tesam.

(*c*) Villanus of North Auckland et, wehit de farina et wehit de averia et 8d. de averpenny et 19d. de cornugaio (hides).

Wehit. A weight measure made by stretching a skin over a hoof, in appearance like a sieve, but without the holes, and is still used in barns.

Averpenny. Money paid by a tenant in commutation of the service (*averua*) in performing work for his lord by horse, ox, or carriage. Such were some of the services Drengage required a tenant to render. In the time of Bishop Flambard (1100), all the permanent landholders in Norhamshire and Islandshire seemed to have held in Drengage.

In a Charter relating to Allerton, in North Durham, it is recorded: "R. Biscop greeteth well all his Thanes and *Drenghs* in Edlandshire and Northampshire."

Here is no reference to military service, for the *Thane* was only a Drengh who held more than one Manor in Drengage. When he held only one Manor, he was a Drengh; when he held more than one Manor he was a Thane.

The villa of Whitworth, near Bishop Auckland, was held in Drengage by Thomas Acley, and Bishop Philip de Pictavia, about 1200 A.D., freed it (Bolden Buke XLIII). This Drengage tenancy in the Manor occurs frequently in the Bolden Buke.

The Drenge at Binfield had to feed one dog and one horse, and go on the Bishop's errands.

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At Hutton, the Drenge feeds a horse, a dog, and carts one ton of wine to Durham Castle. Again: "William holds Oxenhall, one plough, two cultures of the territory of Darlington, which he used to hold in Drengage, which he has quit claimed for ever from the Bishop, he ought also to have the horse mill, and he and his lands are free from Multare and work at the mill, and he renders 60s. per annum. Moreover, he does the fourth part of one Drengage, to wit, he ploughs four acres—sows with the Bishop's seed, harrows it, and makes four precationes (journeys) in Autumn, to wit, three with all his men, with the whole house, *except the house-wife*, and a fourth journey, with a man from each house, which shall be free, and he keeps a dog, a horse for fourth part of the year, and carts wine with four oxen, and makes Utware, when it shall be laid on the Bishop." (N.B.—Utware is service beyond the *boundaries*.) Such were the services attached to Drengage Tenure in 1188.

Haliwerfole. Defenders of the body of St. Cuthbert, between Tyne and Tees, who held their lands on this condition, yet were not obliged to cross either river in defence against their will. William Rufus, in 1093, gave these men the name of *Holy-work-folk*.

They regarded their duty as holy work, and when in the thirteenth century Bishop Beck sent them across the Tyne to fight the Scots, they returned to Durham, because it was outside their contract. The Bishop took action, yet the Court acquitted them as within their rights. Edward I, 1272, recognised this plea. "Non compellam transire ad pugnandum extra libertates sancti Cuthberti."

Edward III, 1312, by letters patent, ordered that those men should not go to fight outside the Franchise of St. Cuthbert, *i.e.*, Tyne and Tees. These Holy-work-men were laymen, distinguished by garb and mien, but not clergy, only the bodyguard of St. Cuthbert.

There were two kinds of *Thanes* in Saxon times—Kings and Mesnes. The Normans made these Freeholders. Now in the Bolden Buke the Bishop held a kind of buffer state.

(1) On its northern border, he had to keep off the Tynedaler, who often attacked the Palatinate.

(2) The Scot, ever ready to attack between the Tyne and Tees.

The Bishop, by charter, enrolled *Baron Militis*, *e.g.*: "Hugo dei gratia Dunelmensis Episcopus Baron Militibus et omnibus hominibus suis de Haliwerefole Francis et Angles Salutem."

Thus (1) Baron Militis.

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Servitum Militum. The Bolden Buke describes "Servitum Militare." This was the most universal and honourable tenure. The required land was called a Knight's Fee. A Norman Baron had to render Knight's service, and had to raise, train, and pay the required number of soldiers.

The land required was called a Knight's Fee. Its holder had to attend his lord for forty days at war, when required.

In the Bolden Buke are instances of persons holding half and other proportions of a Knight's Fee, for which they were bound to serve half or quarter of the days, in proportion to the land held.

In time this Knight's Fee was commuted by a money payment, and called "Scutagium—Scutago—Escutrage." Knight's service imposed the following burdens: (1) Aid; (2) Relief; (3) Wardship; (4) Marriage; (5) Fines; (6) Escheat.

The Conqueror introduced the Feudal system to supply the Crown with Knights.

The Feoffment stated their numbers. Their lands were called Fees and held variously: (1) Homage; (2) Fealty; (3) A great variety of tenures. A Knight's Fee was supposed to be as much land as would suffice to maintain himself and retainers, ready equipped for emergencies. The amount required varied in the counties. In Staffordshire a Knight's Fee was 8,000 acres (see Knight's service in *Round Feudal England*, 1895). In the third year of Edward I, twelve carucates was a Knight's Fee, and was valued at £20 yearly.

But the Bolden Buke gives glimpses of village land-tenure and services which probably existed in the Manor and Wapontake of Sadberge, when it became attached to the See.

The Bolden Buke was compiled six years before Bishop Pudsey purchased the Manor and Wapontake, and it gives interesting glimpses of life in the twelfth century in Durham.

Villans. Perhaps Villans is from villa, the village in which the Villans lived.

They were the farmers' bond-tenants—Cotmen, who held under their lord small portions of land, yet were not owners, nor slaves, nor freemen, and were of two kinds:—

(1) Villans attached to the land.

(2) Villans in gross, attached to his *person*. These could be transferred to another.

A Villan could not leave the estate, he was a servant for life, he received wages and land to keep himself and family, yet could not accumulate property. He ploughed, harrowed,

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mowed, reaped, and did all the necessary agricultural work, and he and his family worked on his lord's estate.

The Bolden Buke shows a settled system and a new kind of Villanage in *Darlington*. Perhaps the Bishop had granted out of his land or demesne there, an additional quantity, to which he added special conditions, very different from the old Villanage, *e.g.*:

(*a*) A Villan could not marry his daughter *without* the lord's leave, and in some cases he had to pay merchet for permission. Merchet was a fine for the loss of her services to the lord's estate.

(*b*) If a free man married a female Villan (*naife* she was called) the children were free, but if a free woman married a Villan, the children were Villans.

(*c*) No bastard could be born a Villan, as "filius mellius," but he gained freedom.

(*d*) As a Villan he could acquire no property, either land or goods, since he was his lord's property, therefore, all he acquired was his lord's, or a condition like slavery.

(*e*) Being allowed to hold land for many years without disturbance, rendering to his lord the accustomed services, the *common law* gave him a title to hold the land, whilst rendering the services attached, or payments as commuted, and eventually the Villan, in modern language, became a *Copyholder*. His title arose from *custom*, *e.g.*: The Rolls of the Lord of the Manor's Courts. The Bolden Buke shows that these Villans held from sixteen to thirty-five acres of land, with a house attached. The services attached to the Darlington Villans' holdings were onerous, *e.g.*:

(1) Half the year they worked on the Bishop's demesne land.

(2) He worked 144 days a year for his lord, besides extra work, ploughing, harrowing, reaping; he also paid in money 8s. 10d.

(3) He gave two hens and twenty eggs to the Bishop, and the Buke adds: "This seems the rule in the Palatinate."

Cotters. They were bond-tenants and rendered much as Villans, differing only in the quantity of land held, and the amount of work rendered, and work which was more servile. Bolden Buke gives a glimpse of Darlington in 1183. There were forty-eight Oxgangs held by new and old Villans, and for each Oxgang they paid 5s. These old and new Villans had to mow all the Bishop's meadow, make and lead the hay, three precationes (cartloads), to cart wine, herrings, and salt per year.

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Twelve farmers held twelve Oxgangs, and rendered rent as Villans, yet did not work or go on the Bishop's errands.

"Geoffrey José had 20 acres for 40, and he goes errands for the Bishop." A peculiar entry.

"The Borough, dyers, bakers, render 10 marcs. The mills in Darlington, Houghton, Ketton render 80 marcs."

"In Blakewell are 47 Oxgangs, which the Villans hold, and they work in all ways as the *Villans of Darlington*."

"Adam, son of Randolph de Stapleton, renders for the herbage of Baydale, 32d." We give other entries.

"In Cockerton are forty-seven Oxgangs, which the Villans hold, and render work in all ways as the *Villans* of Darlington. Adam de Selby holds to farm the Darlington Demesne, with the Grange, and enclosed Court, and he renders 8 marcs, and shall provide at Darlington a litter (sedan chair) for the Bishop on his journeys, and keep at his own charge the houses and court house of the Lord Bishop at Darlington, and whatever is brought thither."

We give other quotations from the Bolden Buke.

"The pastures with the sheep, are in the hands of the Bishop, but Adam, if he pleases, shall have 100 sheep in the said pastures, but only as long as he shall have the aforesaid farm."

"The mill at Burdon, for keeping up the mill dam which is raised on the land, 12s."

In the Buke, Heighington seems peculiar, *e.g.*: "Heighingtonshire." How a shire?

"All the Villans here, with the Cotmen (Cottagers) mow the Bishop's meadows and copse. Moreover, the Villans lead the corn of the demesne, where the Bishop pleases, within the Tees and Wear."

Note.—This is not Tyne and Tees, the Franchise of St. Cuthbert, its northern limit is the Wear. I have not found this district *elsewhere* as a *Shire*.

It proceeds: "Each one finds one rope for the great chase of the Bishop (in Weardale), and he from his hall at Heighington provides 15 ropes. The Villans and Cotmen weed all the Bishop's corn, and in Autumn find one man every day for each Oxgang to mow, and they make 4 precationes (journeys) with all their houses, *except the housewife*, and then they have corridy (food)."

All the Villans and Cotmen of Heighingtonshire mow the Bishop's meadow, lead the hay, enclose the court at Heighington, and the copse.

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We have also glimpses of the Villages in 1188.

Villa. This was the Village, hamlet, town, dwellings of the Villans. Each house, villa or cotter, or farmhouse was situated in a toft, with one or more crofts adjoining, with the houses separated (some modern villages in North Yorkshire are very similar now).

In some Vills, the Anla, *i.e.*: the demesne house of the lord, was situated in the centre of the Vill. (The Manor House is so to-day in Sadberge.)

Near the Anla were one or more free tenants, perhaps not much superior to cotters. Attached to the Vill, with its enclosed parcels of ground, was the common field where each tenant held his own portion of acres of land, under the name of Oxgangs.

Beyond the arable was the pasture land, where the cattle fed in common, under the village *heros* or hind. In some cases a lord's waste existed, or forest in which his tenants had various rights of pasturage, feeding swine, cutting turf, gathering firewood.

In the midst of the moorland there were, here and there, large open pasture or cultivated fields of each Vill, without hedges or divisions, save a strip of grass called to-day, in East Yorkshire, a Balk. This bordered each tenant's holding, and by the side of a stream, or where the best land existed, were cottages snugly ensconced with their hedgerows, where the tillers lived, sheltered by the hall of their lord.

Such is the late Canon Greenwell's description of these Vills in the Bolden Buke.

Each Vill had its own *Heros*, *i.e.*, a person who was responsible for the stock. Each Vill had its *Pound* for stray cattle. Each Vill had its *Pounderus*, *i.e.*, a person who impounded straying cattle, who, later in the Manor and Wapontake, was an important officer. Each Vill had its blacksmith and its carpenter.

All these were servants of the lord of the Vill, and each officer had assigned sufficient land for support of himself and family, besides perquisites attached to their office.

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CHAPTER IX.

NORMAN AND DANE CONTRASTED.

DANELAGH succeeded ancient Northumbria. At the Conquest, the Conqueror found his bitterest opposition from the Danes who had settled between the Humber and the Tyne. These Danish settlers had no affinity with the Norman invader.

By incessant invasion, the Danes had become owners and rulers between the Humber and the Tyne, and called it Danelagh. In 868, they had seized the port of Wearmouth and destroyed Benedict Biscop's monastery. It is probable that they made the harbour of Wearmouth their naval base.

Duncan, the King of Scotland, in 1040 invaded Durham —the "ancient and loyal city"—and the Danish settlers expelled the invading Scotchmen, beheaded their leader, and exhibited his head in the market place of Durham. Under the Saxon Bishop, Egelwine, the city was the centre of opposition to the Norman invader.

Comyns had been created Earl of Northumberland by the Conqueror in 1068, but the Danes rose and slew him and his adherents. Symeon records: "His house was burnt, and every Norman was slain excepting one." This is hyperbole, though the fact of the implacable hatred of the Dane to the Norman invader remains. As a race, the Danes respected neither persons nor places, and in 800 they had destroyed St. Hilda's beautiful monastery at Hartlepool; and, in course of time, they absorbed the ancient kingdom of Northumbria into that of Danelagh. It can be imagined how the Danes would regard the Norman invader.

These Northern earls, like their age, were rude, their civilization not developed; might was right in their eyes, and this explains their implacable hatred of the Norman

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invader. Besides, the population between the Humber and the Tyne was very mixed, with a large proportion of Danes, and their Danelagh stood like a wedge between the turbulent Scot, north of the Tweed, and the invading and advancing Norman from the south. To save the kingdom they had won, they manifested great hatred of the Norman invader, for when Bishop Walcher, who was the first Norman bishop, proceeded to Gateshead as Palatinus to act as judge, he was slain as he occupied the judgment seat.

Dodds, in *Bishops' Boroughs*, says: "This stubborn opposition to the Norman invader was perhaps the cause why, in 1083, the North was omitted from the Survey of Doomsday."

When the Saxon bishop, Egelwine, fled before the Conqueror, he found, at Wearmouth harbour, the vessels of Aidgar, the Ethling, waiting to convey the entire Royal family to Scotland in 1070.

"Malcolm, King of Scotland, covered their flight by destroying the Vill of Wearmouth" (Dodds' *Boroughs*).

Let us glance at the characteristics of these Norman invaders. As a race they were astute, greedy of dominion, much more given to imitation than to originality. They were invaders, not inventors, exceedingly clever in using the brains of other people, both in learning and skill. The Norman knew how to be all things to all men; and the word *effres*—"most unrestrained," "unbridled"—is the essence of their character. The Norman's favourite punishment on a foe was blindness; and the North for one hundred years did not recover from the devastation and ruin the Norman inflicted. The Conqueror's claim to the English throne rested on legal subtleties, on assumptions fallacious yet ingenious, but very persuasive and effective. The system of government, his grants, his confiscations, rested on two legal principles, carried to their results, even Norman lawlessness took legal shape, since he could give elaborate reasons for every Norman act of injustice.

It is very strange that this conquering race has practically vanished from the nations of Europe, and if it now exists, it is in the insular fragment of its ancient Dukes of Normandy.

As in Gaul they became French, so in England they became English, Scotch or Irish. They lost their nationality amongst the nations; they were truly all things to all men; they adopted the language of the people, and were

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absorbed. They conquered the North by force, yet they ruled as English according to English law; and as each Norman succeeded either Saxon or Dane in power, or to property, he stepped into the legal position of his predecessor, whether Saxon or Dane, and soon this fact wiped out the broad and bitter distinction between the conqueror and the conquered, and by the end of the twelfth century the Norman became an Englishman, from the fact that he was absorbed into the English nation.

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CHAPTER X.

Saxon Manor of Sadberge.

It is generally supposed that Manors were introduced into England by the Normans; but in the North, in the country between Tees and Tyne, it was the Saxons who introduced them. King Athelstane, in 925, nearly a century and a half before the Norman invasion, directed that each of his Royal Manors should be subjected to an annual charge for the wretched and destitute, and in this are seen the results of Christian teaching. The Saxons were noted for their charitable gifts, and it is not unlikely that the Manor of historic Sadberge was one of Athelstane's Royal Manors long before the Norman invasion. This charitable spirit is seen in Athelstane's order that his *reeves* (a very important officer in a manor), once a year, should redeem a slave—for slavery was common, since if a criminal could not pay a fine inflicted by a court, he became a slave. In addition, Athelstane commanded that every two of his Royal Manors should feed and clothe one Englishman.

Thus, Manors in the North were a Saxon institution, and the Normans, nearly 150 years later, regulated them by enacting laws and regulations, for they were adept and expert lawyers. Manors were *organised* states of social order, and succeeded the tribal condition. In the North, Manors had land tenure as their basis, and they provided for military service. In the fourth and fifth centuries Saxon landowners were made responsible for the good behaviour of their dependants and important neighbours. The *Saltus* (great domain) is sometimes recognised as a separate district. In ordinary estates (funds) the landowner is made responsible (1) for military conscription, (2) the punishment of criminals and slaves, (3) military service extended to the small householder.

The Warrior in these days was regarded as an aristocrat —much superior to those engaged in peaceful pursuits.

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Manors were recruiting-grounds for the army; the lords of manors exercised a kind of sovereignty—they levied imposts, taxes, tolls, coinage, founded monopolies; they were little kingdoms in which their lords were sovereigns, requiring their tenants to use their corn-mills and manorial ovens.

Let us consider how this Saxon Manor of Sadberge became attached to the See of Durham.

When created, it was a great military institution. When it became ecclesiastical and part of the endowment of the See of Durham, it eventually added yearly a large annual income to the See; and when in recent years a fixed sum was paid to the Bishop, the surplus amount arising from the Manor and Wapontake of Sadberge was devoted by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners to the large parishes of the county of Durham, and especially to colliery parishes in the diocese, so that the income arising from the Manor of Sadberge is of financial interest to a large number of parishes in the county of Durham; and there are very few parishes in the diocese which have not received grants from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners,

(1) to assist in building or enlarging churches;

(2) in endowing new parishes or augmenting existing endowments;

(3) in erecting, or assisting to build vicarages.

The funds for these three beneficent objects chiefly flow into the coffers of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners from the Manor and Wapontake of Sadberge, so that this little known village has been a nourishing mother to the Diocese of Durham, through the Wapontake of Sadberge, and its Manor.

Richard I was anxious to join the Crusaders, yet was deterred by lack of means.

The Bishop of Durham was of Royal blood, and reputed wealthy and ambitious. Richard sold to Bishop Pudsey, for £11,000, the Manor and Wapontake of Sadberge in 1189. Surtees thus describes the Charter granted by the King to the Bishop: "The Manor of Sadberge, with the Wapontake (Wapontakiis) to the said Manor pertaining, and the service of Peter Carum of one Knight's fee for Seaton (Seaton Carew) and Oveton, the service of Thomas Arumdevill of one Knight's fee for Cotham and Ivyford, and the service of the son of Geofrey Baord for 2 parts of a Knight's fee in Middleton and Hertburn with Sac and Soc, toll and theam and infangnethefe (whatever was captured), and all franchises and customs, and with all pleas of the Crown, in such manner

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as we held the same whilst we retained it, yet in our hands, and as the Bishop holds all his other lands and Knight's fees within his Bishopric, and the Bishop may dispose of the same lands and said Manor belonging, as of other lands and lieges in his Bishopric."

"This Charter of 1189 was confirmed by King John, and generally amongst the other Franchises by other Kings" (Longstaff).

"In 1884, December 11th, Richard II, in the time of Bishop Fordam, by Charter, recites that the Bishop and his predecessors held the Manor and Wapontake of Sadberge and the Manor and town of Darlington, and confirms the possession of them and all the privileges of the Palatinate" (Longstaff, page 90).

In Pipe Roll, 8th year of Richard I, the Bolden Buke on this purchase says: "Jussit practerea Regi II Mille Marcas, quis pro Satbergia et aliis dignitatibus promisarat Solui." (Coldingham Cap. X, Scripture Trees, and Lapsley, page 292 Note.)

"From this period (1189) the maxim was true: Quicquid Rex habet extra Episcopas habet infra" (Longstaff, page 55).

Hollinshead thus describes Bishop Pudsey's financial transactions: "Richard I sold to Pudsey the Manor of Sadberge of Sedgefield, with the Wapontake, and found means to persuade him to buy his own province, which he did, giving the King £11,000: therefore was created Erle Bishop and Earle of Durham."

"1,000 marks procured the appointment as Chief Justiciary and Regent north of the Humber, and a similar £11,000 dispensed him of his vow to Holy See, which faileth no man that is charged with white or red metal and would be eased."

"Sadberge was purchased from the Crown by Bishop Pudsey for £11,000, who was *outrageously* swindled in the transaction." This is Lapsley's opinion in his book on the Palatinate of Durham (page 162 and Note 5). Certainly the price paid was very large, considering the value of money, and its purchasing power in 1189.

Now Bishop Pudsey might be a courtier and ambitious, but in this transaction he was worldly wise, and by no means swindled. Let us look at the facts. To form an accurate judgment, we must go back to 1189, and the period before 1100. The Bishopric was vacant for five years. When Henry I, in 1100, came to the throne, he seized Flambard, the Bishop of Durham, placed him in the Tower and seized the revenues of the See, but the Bishop escaped to Normandy. The King appropriated Carlisle and Hexham,

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which were parts of Durham Diocese. For five years the Crown received the revenues of the See, and through the Pipe Rolls we know the annual amount the Crown received from the Episcopal revenues. We give an extract from these returns :—

(i) Tolls for selling in the Lord's market as Lord of the Manor.

(*a*) Darlington 8s. 1½d. (*b*) Chester 6s. 8d.
(*c*) Easington 10s. (*d*) Stockton 15d.
Summa 21s. 1½d.

(ii) Fish Tolls. Minera Carbonum (Mines) Cester 12s. 0. 16s. de firinis (fines) of furnaces in quarterior de Stockton.

(iii) Received from Seals—Hawks.
18d. in quarterio de Dton.
5s. „ „ „ for Hawks.
1d. received in rent from Sadberge.

Kabyr. (Who can explain this ?)

Summa total for term of St. Cuthbert, September, £499 16s. 5d. Redditus Sadberg cum Wapentake.

(i) 18d. from the chief feast (dominica) Sadberg.
(ii) 21s. 2d. from the Ancient burgagiis ibidem.
(iii) 15½d. from the new burgiis.
(iv) 41s. 4d. from the free tenants, Sadberge.
(v) 9d. from approved (placea) fountain pegge ibidem. (Who can explain *pegge ?*)
(vi) And £6 from fees ab Morton Burdon Hurthworth at Newbiggin.
(vii) And 10s. 5d. from Manorial rents or fees in Carlbary.
(viii) And 6s. 8d. from the free tenants at Newbiggin.
(ix) And 22d. from the grass at Newbiggin.
(x) And £20 from pension of the Bishopric and Prior of Carlisle. Summa £30 4s. 11½d. The above is for Terminus Sancti Michaeles. Summa total receptus for 4 quartero greater and lesser quarter ends (with the meadows of Dunelm and Wickham). £2107 10s. 4½d.

(Henry I had seized Carlisle and severed it from the Diocese of Durham. Was this £30 4s. 11½d. a grant as compensation to the Bishop and Prior of Durham ? Was it stolen ?)

So that eighty years *before* the purehase of Bishop Pudsey the annual revenue was about five years' purchase of the price paid to King Richard, although it was a very large sum to give. The Pipe Roll Return may be

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relied upon as not less than the fact. And what person seeking an investment would hesitate at giving five years' purchase of the annual income? It is also to be remembered that in 1183 Bishop Pudsey had taken a survey of the revenues, which is recorded in the Bolden Buke, so that he knew the annual revenue before he made his bargain with the King. The probabilities are that the Bishop knew better what he was buying than the King knew what he was selling. Then there is a return in Pipe Roll Court of the revenues in time of Bishop Hatfield (page 247).

(i)	Darlington Ward ...	£787	9s.	0½d.
(ii)	Chester „ ...	£733	0s.	2½d.
(iii)	Easington „ ...	£691	18s.	11½d.
(iv)	Stockton „ ...	£317	7s.	10d.
(v)	Sadberge Wapontake	£42	7s.	1d.
(vi)	Minerals	£22	0s.	0d.
(vii)	Arreragia	£688	14s.	8½d.
	Total with arrears ...	£3405	9s.	1½d.

This amount is less than four years' purchase. Though £11,000 was an immense sum, yet we may regard it as below its real value, and the Bishop evidently knew the value of what he bought, and made a shrewd bargain.

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CHAPTER XI.

Sketch of Bishop Pudsey.

Benefactions existing after 700 Years.

We make no pretence to write the history of Hugh de Puisett, since historians have fully described it; but, as this is supposed to record the history of Sadberge, it could hardly be such if it omitted all notice of the greatest character linked with its long past. How humiliating to human pride and ambition is the fact that very few men are remembered one hundred years after death! Yet here is a name that has survived 700 years, and all through the changes of the Middle Ages, of the English Reformation, and of the Revolution led by Cromwell, still lives! True, he had many aids to worldly success. First, he had the great advantage of having an ancient and noble ancestry.

Hugh de Puisett was the son of the Viscount of Chartres and the nephew of King Stephen, and also of Henry de Blois, Bishop of Winchester. Thus he had the great advantage of powerful connections—a matter of moment to the attaining of power and position in either Church or State. Further, to this advantage was added a fine, commanding presence and attractive manners. Height and comeliness in every age are powerful aids to a successful career, and often they are the only recommendations. He was reputed to be wealthy, and so Pudsey had every aid to position and power. With birth, wealth, and attractive appearance at his command, it is no wonder that he became Prince Palatine of the County of Durham, and one of its famous Bishops. Wealth and generosity are not always linked; in his case, it almost seems as if king and subject had only to ask and they received.

He rescued King Richard I from the hands of Henry VI of Austria. The English king was returning from the Crusade, and when passing through Austria, Henry imprisoned him. Pudsey paid 2,000 lbs. in silver to release

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the English king—for which we should have expected special favour and gratitude. However, Pudsey secretly favoured the designs of William the Lion of Scotland, who wished to possess Cumberland and Northumberland. On the Scottish border were Norham Castle and Islandshire. Norham Castle was the outworks, and Durham the citadel, of the Palatinate, which was "Murus lapideus contra Scotos." Pudsey made a secret treaty with the Scottish king that Northallerton Castle, which the Bishop had built, should be ceded, and that the Scots should have free passage through the Palatinate, and even that French and Flemish troops should be allowed to land at Hartlepool.

This disloyalty was discovered after the rebellion of 1173-4 had been suppressed, and was punished with a heavy fine and the forfeiture of the three Castles of Norham, Durham, and Northallerton. Coldingham asserts that King Richard also seized the Manor and Wapontake of Sadberge, and that the Bishop paid the King £2,000 for its restoration to the See. If Coldingham's statement is reliable, there is foundation for Lapsley's statement that in the purchase of the Wapontake and Manor of Sadberge Pudsey was grossly swindled. Certainly all through his career, the Bishop seems to have been a capacious reservoir of wealth, from which king and subject drew supplies. Bishop Pudsey had a long Episcopate, and his close familiarity with the Government of Henry II gave him great opportunities. As early as 1166-7 he enjoyed a complete and exclusive jurisdiction in the See, and he and his predecessors had held the privilege for a period long enough to be regarded as immemorial.

We need not wonder at his ambition, for he was a *man*, and all who have gifts are more or less ambitious. He sought to strengthen his feudal position by purchasing the Earldom of Northumberland, and in 1189 the Wapontake and Manor of Sadberge, when Richard made him Earl of Sadberge.*

He sat as Judge at Durham for forty-two years, overlapping at both ends the reign of Henry II, and was so well versed in law that Richard appointed him Justiciary in the North.

Pudsey formulated and asserted the sufficiency and competence of the Bishop's Court in his Franchise of St. Cuthbert, and maintained it against increasing pressure from the Crown.

* Lapsley, p. 164.

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These Franchises are obscure in their origin, but they grew and rapidly developed under Edward the Confessor, and they survived the Conquest, and those surviving the crisis of Henry II were called Palatinates.*

Let us glance at his acts, of some of which the effects remain in the twentieth century.

(1) His military defence of his Palatinate. A traveller, leaving Northallerton for the County of Durham, cannot fail to be impressed with the massive structure of Northallerton Castle; and a Scotsman, approaching the Palatinate from the North, finds Norham Castle, and its noble keep erected by Pudsey, guarding the Border—both defensive works, so massively built that they are to-day strong, and defy the ravages of time.

Much could be said on this subject, but we prefer to record works of beneficence which bless the present generation, rather than military defences.

(1) Consider his erection of hospitals for sick, diseased, and suffering humanity.

Sherburn Hospital. This is situated about three miles east of the city of Durham and was erected in 1181.

It was an institution for lepers—a disease which made ravages on the population in the twelfth century. He intended it for both sexes and dedicated it to Christ and the Blessed Mary, Lazarus, and Martha—a replica of the Bethany Homes. This charity has survived all changes during seven centuries, and in 1857 was remodelled by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. They enlarged its beneficent operations, *e.g.*:—

(i) Fifteen resident brethren were to be admitted, and a chaplain appointed to reside in the hospital, thus providing for spiritual and bodily needs;

(ii) Fifteen non-resident brethren were to be elected;

(iii) In 1898 its beneficent influence was further extended to *Outsisters*. Fifteen were to be elected, and eventually the number was increased to thirty Outsisters, each to receive a pension of 10s. per week.

It is worthy of note that care was taken that character was an essential for election to the benefits of Pudsey's munificence.

To inhabitants of Sadberge of the present generation an interesting link with Sherburn was formed by the stately dame who, for thirty years, was the schoolmistress at Sadberge, and who imparted a grace and courtesy of

* Lapsley, p. 27.

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manner to all who passed through her hands. Seized by a fatal disease, she was elected an outsister of Sherburn Hospital, and received ten shillings per week during the fourteen days she survived her election to the pension. This ancient charity of Bishop Pudsey did much to smooth the last hours of Elizabeth Adamson.

Here is an institution in active operation some 800 years after the death of the founder! It is to be noted that both resident and outside brothers and sisters must satisfy the trustees as to their moral character. They must be residents in the Diocese of Durham; they must not be in receipt of parish relief, and must need assistance.

The *Inbrethren* must be either bachelors or widowers, and sober and peaceful in their habits. It has been a blessing to worthy men and women when age advanced, and their strength and power to earn a living steadily failed.

Much has been written about the Bishop's ambition, and Camden describes him as not being *crucifixus* to the world, but *infixus* to it; so that it is only just that this noble act of founding Sherburn Hospital should be recorded. Truly the recipients of Sherburn's care will wish to welcome its founder to the everlasting habitations; for they themselves can never recompense him.

In 1858 its trustees extended its usefulness by the erection of a modern dispensary. Some four thousand tickets are annually distributed to the clergy and the large employers of labour in the Diocese of Durham, so that its healing and beneficence are spread abroad, and many working men thus receive the bodily and spiritual aid of the Hospital—for this institution provides for body and soul.

Bishop Pudsey will also live in his buildings. He did not erect the Cathedral of Durham, but he permanently added to its adornments by building "The Nine Altars." This now forms the east end, below the level of the Sanctuary, with its glorious Wheel Window. He also took care to enshrine the tradition as to the discovery of the site on which the Cathedral stands by placing at the south-east corner in stone "The Cow, Milkmaid, and Pail."

The tradition is briefly this: When the monks were wandering to find a resting-place for the body of St. Cuthbert, one of their number had a vision that *Dunelm* was the spot destiny had chosen. However, the difficulty was that none of them knew where Dunelm was. But, as they journeyed

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north from Ripon, they heard a woman ask where she could find her lost cow. The reply was: "In the wood of Dunelm." The monks sought this place, and followed the woman, until at length she found her cow in the wood of Dunelm. There they settled, and erected a church of wattle.

Then at the west end of the Cathedral, overlooking the winding Wear, the Bishop erected that unique building, The Galilee, within which rest the remains of the Venerable Bede and St. Cuthbert; so that the name of Bishop Pudsey will live in (1) The Nine Altars; (2) The Cow and Milkmaid in stone; (3) The Galilee Chapel.

Then he put the Castle in a state of defence, and erected Elvet Bridge below, and bestowed many other benefits on this "ancient and loyal city." Nor, in the distribution of his wealth, did he forget what is due to Almighty God, nor the worship due to Him from Whom we receive every good and perfect gift.

Let us recall the Bishop's benefactions in the county. As the traveller enters the county from the south, at Darlington, the most striking and imposing object is Bishop Pudsey's Collegiate Church, carrying us back to the twelfth century. How solid and beautiful it is after these centuries! With what grace and dignity it stands! It has suffered from modern restorers, especially internally, but still it is a glorious relic of days when our ancestors considered nothing too good or too costly for the worship of God.

Pudsey did not confine his benefactions to castles, but also erected temples for worship which still adorn the county. It is only just to one charged with not being *crucifixus* to the world, but the world *infixus* in him, to record his benefactions to the See, which permeate almost every part of the Diocese.

The immense sum he paid King Richard I for the Manor and Wapontake of Sadberge was not a private investment, nor was Sadberge made private property, but annexed to the See of Durham, though the Charter gave Pudsey the power to sell. By the Bolden Buke, in 1183, he had a criterion as to its annual value. Still, no one could know the almost inexhaustible mineral wealth underground, which in the future would produce enormous revenues, which Bishop Pudsey's action had secured to the Diocese of Durham. The vast amounts derived from the minerals of the Manor of Sadberge led to the enrichment of *individuals*, instead of benefiting the diocese, until the establishment of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, who now receive all the

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revenues, and pay fixed amounts to certain Ecclesiastics. The remainder forms a general fund, administered with regular and just distribution, on fixed rules for all parts of the Diocese.

The rules and regulations of the Commissioners, and their strict administration of their funds, have had most happy results. Many new parishes in colliery districts have been formed, and a Church erected, and in many cases a Vicarage House also. Often a grant of £120 per annum towards an assistant curate's stipend is made, whilst in other parts of the diocese new parishes have been formed, endowed with £200 per annum, and also with grants for the erection of a Vicarage, so that the benefits flowing to the Church in the Diocese of Durham, through the Manor and Wapontake of Sadberge, purchased in 1189 by Bishop Pudsey, and made over to the See, may be said to reach almost every part of the Diocese of Durham, benefiting the poorest and most destitute colliery districts, helping to provide Church, Vicarage and Priest, and sometimes aiding in erecting Schools. Most, if not all, of the parishes in the Diocese of Durham may bless Hugh Pudsey and the Manor and Wapontake of Sadberge.

Moreover, the immense sums that have flowed into the coffers of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners from these mineral rights have enabled the Commissioners to extend their benefactions to almost every diocese in England.

Where large populations exist, and the patronage is public, they have raised the benefices to £800 a year; they aid the formation of the new parishes of 4,000 population, and if the patronage is public, they endow the new district with £200 per annum; where private patrons wish to increase the endowment, they will meet their private gifts by granting an equal amount. Thus Bishop Pudsey, in securing the Manor and Wapontake of Sadberge, may be truly said both to have showered golden blessings on the Diocese of Durham, and also on the entire Church of England even in the twentieth century.

Like most men he knew the intense bitterness of envy, hatred, and malice, exhibited even by Bishops and Dignities of the Church, and Peers of the Realm.

The monks of Durham elected him as their Bishop in 1153. The Archbishop of York was Henry Murdac, a pupil of St. Bernard, a *Regular*, austere, living by the strict rule of his Order. On the other hand, Hugh de Puisett was a Secular, to whom rules and regulations were not very

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attractive; whose life perhaps gave a point to Camden's sarcasm: "World not crucifixus but infixus." No wonder the election of a Secular to the See of Durham was unsatisfactory to Regulars. The Archbishop ordered these offending monks of Durham to be stripped and soundly whipped, when naked, at the Church of Beverley, because they had not consulted him. A twelfth-century Kaiser!

Geoffrey Coldingham states that the Archbishop raised three objections to Hugh de Puisett's election, viz.: (1) His age; (2) His worldliness; (3) His lack of learning.*

The monks, however, had the approval of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and of the Pope, as to their nominee. Considering the Archbishop's action, it is not surprising that between these two prelates there was a lifelong and persistent feud. The Archbishop continued his opposition to Pudsey's consecration, who appealed to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and secured his approval. The opposition being nevertheless maintained Pudsey appealed to Rome.

Accompanied by Lawrence, the monk of Durham, he started for Rome, to obtain the Pope's approval of the choice of the monks. Before their arrival at Rome, Pope Eugenius died. His successor, Anasthasius, approved the nomination of Pudsey as Bishop of Durham, and he was consecrated at Rome, December 20th, 1153, and enthroned at Durham, May 2nd, 1154.

Now Pudsey, like all ambitious and successful men, realised that the bitterness and implacable malice which often attend a successful career might be so implacable, that on its sharp poisoned point, justice, mercy and equity died. How true is the Latin proverb: "*Humanum est errare.*"

On Pudsey's return from Rome, he became a courtier, spent most of his time at Windsor, and gave occasion for Camden's sarcasm.

In 1176 he took part in the coronation of Henry I, and was present when the King made peace with Normandy, in Westminster (Dugdale Mon). He was the only English Bishop at the Council of Tours, in 1163. Gesta Henrica states that Pope Alexander suspended Pudsey; if so, it is strange that he received Absolution without taking the Oath of Submission. His generosity was characteristic, his wealth seems to have been inexhaustible, to which king or the needy could apply, and draw what they required. Even King Richard seems to have joked at the ambition of the Bishop, for at his investiture as Earl of Sadberge, it is recorded that he said: "Am I not a cunning craftsman to make a young Earl of an old Bishop?"

* Coldingham, p. 45.

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We conclude this sketch in the words of Bishop Stubbs, the historian of the English Church: "He ruled Northumbria, and had the duty of keeping the March land between Scotland and England, and had he realised his princely position and responsibility, he would have been as like one of the great Ecclesiastical Princes of Germany, as anything seen in England. After he became Bishop of Durham, he strengthened his links and power in the north by an alliance with Adelaide de Percy; thus, with the Bishop of Winchester as his uncle, and the House of Percy, he was powerful in the north." And Stubbs adds: "He left in the north his mark, which has not been effaced." It is safe to add his name *never* will be effaced from the annals of Durham, either in Church or State. Of him it might justly be said: "If you wish to see his monument look around the city and county of Durham; they are his enduring monuments"; and not the smallest benefaction was his attaching the Wapontake and Manor of Sadberge to the See of Durham.

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CHAPTER XII.

Burgages in Manor and Wapontake of Sadberge in Bishop Hatfield's Time.

List of Burgages holding "Terræ Dominicæ" (Demesne lands) belonging to the lord of the manor and retained in his own hands, but principally cultivated by bond tenants, who held the lands by servile tenure, under him.

Wm. Fautor holds 1 Bovatæ, of 15 acres, grass and pasture, and returns at Feast of St. Martin, Easter, to St. Cuthbert, in September, 9s. 1d.

Holders of 1 Bovatæ, grass and pasture, paying 9s. 1d. per Term:—John Blake, Roger Blakye, John Roberts, Wm. Fote, John Clarke, Wm. Smyth, Wm. Dalton, and seven others.

Willelmus Wryght and Wm. Dobbessionus hold 2 Bovatæ, and pay 18s. 2d. per ann.

The Prior of Fynghall holds 2 Bovatæ, of the land of Richard Bellam, "unde nichil solvit qua de causa ignoratur ideo inquiratur."

This Rent Roll records (1) The Prior pays no rent for the land he holds; (2) Enquiry must be made as to why not.

There were 22 persons holding "*Terræ Dominicæ.*"

List of Newbiggen tenants in Hatfield's Survey:—

Gilbert of Newbiggin et socii sui. This holding was a form of partnership. They held 48 acres, from the lord's demesne, and they paid at Feast of Easter, and S. Michael, 24s.

Tenants at Long Newton. Comes (Count) Warwic pays for rent of village of Long Newton (*villatæ*) and for the demesne lands there, at the Feast of S. Michael and S. Cuthbert, £10. The same Count, for lands formerly of John de Baliol, at the term of S. Martin, pays 70s.

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The Vills of Carlebury, which are held in tenancy, pay for freedom from fines, at the terms of S. Martin, Pentecost, S. John, and S. Michael, 41s. 8d., 4 times a year. (Carlebury now is part of Red Marshall parish.)

Seton Carew, of the Ward of Seaton Carew (Karrow) for ward of the camp (castri) there, at the Feast of the Nativity, 18s. 4d.

Middleton St. George, of the Ward of the camp of Middleton St. George, and Over Middleton, pays at Easter 9s.

Coniscliffe, of the Ward of Coniscliffe, returns 18s. 4d.

Elstob, of the Ward of Elstob, for Warda de Cotham, at the terms of St. Martin, Pentecost, St. John, and St. Michael, pays 4s. 6½d.

De Graystone, pro eadem Warda, pays 18½d.

De Cotam, pro se, pro eadem Warda, 20½d.

(It is possible that the entries beginning with Seaton and up to Cotham are not rents, but items of expenditure in administration.)

Nova Burgagia, in the Wapontake of Sadberge, as recorded in Hatfield's Survey. In this list is to be noted:—

(1) Many names are also in the *old* list of Burgages;
(2) In this new list no lands are given, simply tenements, messagium, placeam, etc.;
(3) The *absence* of suit of service to the lord of the manor; it is more the modern relation of the tenant and the landlord. The rents are more, yet there is no suit of service.

List:

Richard Marshall holds 1 Messuage and 17 acres, formerly held by Thomas *Capellani*, and returns 12s.

William Smyth holds 1 Forge=the 4th part of a Burgage, formerly held by Hugh of Whytton, and returns 6d. per ann. (Whytton was in Red Marshall parish.)

Henry de Ingleby holds 1 Burgage formerly held by William Hakenhall, and returns 2d. per ann.
(This gentleman was a secular priest and lord of Ripley Castle, and was tenant of 8 *old* Burgages.)

Thomas in the Wye and Isabella his Wife. They held 1 placeam, and pay 2d. per ann.

Robert Marshall in the Wye holds 1 Placeam, and returns 4d. per ann.

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John Spicer holds 1 Placeam, called Walkersplace, of Escheat, *i.e.*, forfeiture, pays at Feast of Pentecost, and Martinmas, 8s. per ann.

The aforesaid Richard Marshall holds 1 *Placeam* called Sherwyndes-place, and pays 1d. per ann.

Morton Palmes (now part of the Parish of Sadberge) of the Vill of Morton, super le More (Moor) de redditu of Thomas Surteys, 60s.

Of the Vill of Morton, through the Prioress of Neseham, 60s.

(Little Burdon, up to recent years, was *Church* land.)

John of Moreton et precenarii sui, holds Villa or Morton per servitium militari, and pays at the Feast of S. Martin, Nativity, and S. John the Baptist, 16s. 5½d.

The said et socii sui (partners) pro cornagio (horned cattle) pay as much as 20d. at the end of Martinmas. The said John, et socii sui, holds lands of Peter of Wythes, and pays 6d. per ann.

The said John, et socii sui, holds lands of William (cordwainer), and returns 6d.

The aforesaid John holds messuages and 46 acres, and 1 acre of grass, and pays £4 12s. et returns *modus* at Pentecost and Martinmas, 46s.

From this Rent Roll it appears that, in the fourteenth century, Morton Palmes was farmed by John de Morton. He was also *precenarius sui*, probably his own overseer or steward.

Little Burdon. Dominus de Nevill, et precenarii sui ten Villam de Parva Burdon et vadit in magna chac ea Domini, Episcopi et quadrigat Vintum cum Bobus, et red. 10s. per ann.

The Lord of Raby Castle joins the Bishop in the chase in Weardale, and provides 4 gallons of wine and 8 oxen.

Precenarius: probably a kind of supervisor or auditor of accounts. John de Morton and Dominus de Nevill, the Register states, *precenarii sui*, *i.e.*, they exercised this office, like a landlord acting as his own *steward.*

Walter Talboys, of Barnard Castle, and *Robert Ogle* pay for the Vill of Neasham 60s. per ann.

The Vill of Aislaby pays 60s.

Thomas Surteys holds 1 messuage and 100 acres with meadows and cornmill there, besides Wardam Castri pro quo ballivus Sadberge, et returns per forinsecum servitum, 9s. 8d.

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Willelmus Filius Randulphi de Rikenhall ten 1 mess. et 60 acres, and returns per ann. lib. cimini.

Per forinsecum servitum also appears in the Bondgate Tenants in Darlington, *e.g.*, *John O'Kerby*, capellanus, holds 3 roods of land, over cross flats, and in Bekfield 1 rood, and renders accustomed service *forinsecum* at the 4 usual terms.

Newbiggen:

Wm. of Heighington holds 1 placeam in mora (a large part of the country was held with the rights of pasture and turf), formerly held by Ismagina, the daughter of Roger, and pays 12d. per ann.

Perhaps this person is the same as Ismayna de Layton, who surrendered a Burgage to Thomas Surtyes, the lord of Dinsdale, and one of the gaol-keepers at Sadberge.

John Nottingham holds the entire Vill, and pays 13s. 4d. at the four terms, and provides 12 men, 1 a day or 1 man in 12 days, in autumn to the granary, to plough there 1 day, and to work at storing corn, and to follow the Bishop's soldiers, and a four-wheeled cart (quad riga) with wine and 4 oxen, and pays 13s. 4d. at the 4 terms.

Lartington, though beyond Barnard Castle, was in the Ward of Darlington, and therefore in the Wapontake of Sadberge.

This entry relates to the duties of the *Bowes* family to the Bishop, as owner of the Wapentake:—

"*Lord Wm. of Bowes* holds the Vill of Lartington, and makes 3 journeys in autumn to the Manor of Coundon with all his men, except his own domestic female servants, and follows the legions of the Bishop, and provides a four-wheeled cart, wine, and is to attend the great chase of the Bishop (in Weardale), and pays 20s. per ann."

The duties of bond tenant we should regard as irksome. We here record the duties of one at Carlton, not far from Sadberge:—

"*Wm. Umfrey* holds 2 messuages, with 4 oxgangs; he pays 10s. at the 4 terms, for 2 oxgangs; he comes 6 days to work and makes 4 journeys in autumn, with all his family, except housewife, and pays at the Feast of St. Michael 2s., and renders for each Bovatæ (oxgang) 2 hens at the Feast of Nativity, and 20 eggs at Easter, and carries wood for the corn mill at Carlton, and brings grinding stones (molares) for mill at his *own cost*. And if Dominus (the Bishop) shall build a house *de novo* (new) he shall go to the Manor of Stockton and will aid in

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carrying wood and will work together with the miller there, when it shall be necessary, at his own cost."

This is truly a *Bond* Tenancy about 1350.

There is an interesting entry amongst the Darlington Bondgate Tenants :—

"*Simon Acyres* holds a certain piece of land, between the Manor (House) and Vicarage of Darlington, and pays 12d.

"And in the same place is one *Placea*, within an enclosure of the Manor (house), with *Curtilagi* (an enclosure in which a house is generally built), over which is built 1 *domus*, in which Janitor manet (dwells), and pays 8s. 4d."

Tolnetum, in Darlington, was Toll—paid for liberty to buy or sell in any *market* in the Manor.

Cervisia was Beer, then as frequently made from *oats* as from barley.

Tolnetum Cervisia, in Darlington, were Tolls from Villans and Burgages. The Villan, or Villager, paid 12d.

In *Hartlepool*, forming part of the Saxon Wapontake, are the following entries :—

"*Lord Roger of Fulthorp, miles* (a retainer) holds 1 Tenement in Hertpool called *Herynghows*, and pays at the term of S. Martin, 12d."

"*A Common Bakehouse* (Furnus). William Dawison has a common Furnus (oven), with toll to those infra (below) the rank of Burgess, et returns at the Feast of Easter and S. Martin, 7s."

Molendum (or Corn Mill).

"*John Hapsa*, and his son Robert, hold a Wind Mill (Molendium Ventriticum) which, with a certain corn and bakehouse (furnus), were accustomed to return 77s. 8d. per ann."

Modus (return blank).

The General Receiver under Sadberge returns :—"et de £42 7s. 1d. de exit et prof. in Wapontake of Sadberge, cum membris hoc anno current, in onere ballivi ibid, cum 9s. de perquisities halmotorum, summa £42 7s. 1d."

Precenarius. Perhaps an officer or supervisor, to act as auditor over the centum accounts, *e.g.*, "De Thomas Surteys et precenarius sus" (Cotham Roll, page 248). Now Surteys was one of those in charge of the Gaol at Sadberge, and was a Burgess of Sadberge, and owner of and under the Bishop and Lord of Dinsdale, and probably

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an ancestor of the Surtees family, and of the historian, of the County of Durham.

Hatfield's Registers prove a *Capella* at Cotham, *e.g.*, "et in stipendio capellani divina celebrantes in capella de Cotum p.a. 66s. 8d." (Hatfield Rolls, page 247).

Capellanus. The word is often used in a broad sense to cover any ecclesiastic who serves the Church in any capacity. The Record Interpreter translates it as "Chaplain." It is used in the Durham Court Rolls for "Chantry Priest"; as it is applied to so many in this list, I am inclined to think that many were what we call "Sheep Breeders," though they may have been also Secular Priests. Capella is used for a young goat, *i.e.*, a kid; capellanus for a *breeder* of goats.

We quote examples:—

"*John Redhod*, Capellanus, holds 4 acres." (There is no record of rent or service.)

"*William Strigati*, Capellanus, holds 1 messuage et 1 Bovata, et pays 10d. per ann."

Under Bondgate, Darlington, appears: "Tenentes tenent inter se certes terras, videlicet, Calfhouse, Cokyrtongate, Bathelgate, Saderbegate, Swatergate, Duresmgate, Croffgate, et Hurworthgate ex antiqua ut dicunt, from which the lord (Bishop) receives nothing, not resisting that which they say from his waste lands, so far as it is enquired into."

These Capellani are to be found in almost every part of the Wapontake, *e.g.*:—

Willelmus Goodenough, Capellanus, holds 1 messuage and 5 acres in North Aukland, and pays 5s. 6d. modus red. p. ann. 20d.

Richard of Bedlington, Capellanus, holds 8 acres in North Aukland and pays 8s.

William of Coundon, Capellanus, holds 1 tenement, 6 acres and 1 rood, and pays 6s. 8d.

John Virty, of North Aukland, Capellanus, holds 1 cottage, with croft, containing less than 1 acre, and pays per ann. 12d.

John Hendley, Bishop Middleham, Capellanus, holds 84 acres (no rent is recorded).

John Redworth, Capellanus, holds 1 cottage, 15 acres, and pays 8s. per ann. and 1 bushel of corn de scat (an Exchequer measure), 3 bushels ad measure of corn, and 4 measures of malt, and renders work on the land, *through* the year. (This tenancy was at Heighington, and the *conditions* of tenancy are scarcely clerical, more those of a farm servant.)

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Manors in the Wapontake of Sadberge. While it is true history that the Wapontake of Sadberge was the only one in Northumbria, there were many Manors in it besides that of Sadberge. We give a few names of Manors and owners from Hatfield's Registers.

Mathall. Randulph de Enere, soldier, holds the Manor of Mathall, and pays 5s. at the Feast of S. Cuthbert.

Bitforth. Randulph de Enere holds Manor of Bitforth, and pays (here there is a blank).

Mayland. Hugh of Burnynghill holds Manor of Mayland, and 100 acres, and pays at Feast of S. Cuthbert, in September, per servitum forinsecum 6d., or 1 par calcarium (1 pair of spurs).

Estshipley. Wm. Blakden holds the Manor of Estshipley and 100 acres, and pays at the Feast of S. Cuthbert 6d. vel 1 par calcarium.

West Shipley. The heirs of Robert of Brackenbury hold Manor of West Shipley, and 90 acres, and pay 8s. 2d. Wm. of Blakden holds ¼ part of the Manor, and 30 acres, and pays 10d.

Little Mayland. The heirs of Wm. Brackenbury hold Manor of Little Mayland, and pay 12d. at Feast of S. Cuthbert, and 1 sparrowhawk at S. Martin's, and it is held in *modus* tenure of John Hagreston (Hatfield, page 54).

Bitforth. Randulphus de Enere holds Manor of Bitforth, and returns (a blank). He also holds the Vill of Stopyland, and pays 2s. p.a.

Wadley. Robert de Dribleton holds Manor of Wadley, and pays 6d.

Matnell. Randulphus de Enere holds Manor of Matnell, and 80 acres, and pays 5s. at the Feast of S. Cuthbert.

Wodinfield. John Barker, of Wodingfield, holds Manor of Wodingfield, *containing* 40 acres and pays 20s. per ann.

Brandwood. Robert Egleston holds Manor of Brandwood, containing 1 carucatem. (*Carucata* is ploughland, *i.e.* arable; *Carucarius* is a ploughman.) The extent of a carucata varied. On page 8 it is 120 acres, yet on page 25 it is 160 acres. On page 188 is Valor of Manor of (Bishop) Middleham (Bp. Hatf. Reg.).

In these smaller Manors, the rents and services do not appear to have been regularly paid or rendered, *e.g.*, page 48, under the heading Valor of Manorii Coundon: "est ibid quoddam in the Manor, who make no return, unless reprisas, or they are compelled."

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Vills and their Owners :—

Randulphus de Enere holds Vill de Bradley, and pays 22s.

Thomas Grey holds Vill of *Newlands* and *Towley*, per servitum forinsecum, and pays 31s.

The lord of Nevill (Raby) holds Vill of Thornley and Grenwell, with Helmpark and Redmayne. For Thornley he pays 13s. 4d., for Grenwell 15s. 4d., for Helmpark 33s. 4d. Total 62s.

Hatfield's Registers give examples of the duties attached to the *Burgess*, *Villan*, *Cottager*.

(1) *Burgagium tenure.* In a Borough, he held in chief from the lord Bishop by fealty, and service, and doing 3 suits at the Bishop's Court, in the said Borough, at the appointed times, and pays in the said Borough 8d. at the usual times, *e.g.*: "Walter Webster holds 1 burgage and renders 'secta curia' (attendance at the lord's court) on the 7th March, 7th May, 7th October. He is exempt from all tolls within the liberty of Darlington, *except in the Wapontake de Sadberge*, et at the 4 terms, he pays 22d."

The Oath of Fealty occurs as early as 1140. In 1339 Thomas de Morton held 2 Burgages in Darlington Ward by doing 3 suits at the Toll Booth and paying yearly to S. Cuthbert's Church, eight lbs. of wax. Morton now forms part of Sadberge parish.

Important Burgages and landowners had to pay 3 yearly suits of service at the Borough Courts; lesser Burgages had to appear every 3 weeks under a fine of 6d.

I have not ascertained their privileges in the Wapontake, but in the Boroughs: (1) they shared in the common fields; (2) the power to make Bye-laws in Borough Courts; (3) in exemption from tolls.

By a Charter of Henry II, the men of the Prior of Durham were exempt from toll *throughout the Realm*.

When a Burgess passed to another, the new Burgess was admitted at Borough Court. (1) He took Oath of Fealty; (2) he paid a *fine* to the lord; (3) was entered in the Roll (Dodds' *Boroughs*).

The Bailiff, or Provost, was the chief officer. Sometimes there were two, and at others, three Bailiffs. Very often he was a *farmer*, and after paying for the farm, he received all the various dues of the Borough. Probably the four Bishop Boroughs were farmed, for Darlington Ward in 1350 is returned at £319 2s. 6½d., Chester Ward £14 10s. 1½d., Edvington £85 8s. 7d., Stockton Ward £41 10s. 10½d., et in Wapontake of *Sadberge* £37 sicut continetur in diversiae parcels ibid under idem Dominus Johannes respondet. This return is in the Receiver's Roll, 4th year, Bishop

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Hatfield, 1850: "To the Thesaurio, Lord John Burgeys super compotorum diverso collectorium et aliorum in quator wards et Wapontake Sadberge."

The Constabulary return is £125 19s. 1½d.

Darlington Ward,	£44	12s.	5½d.
Chester ,,	£6	18s.	10d.
Easington ,,	£44	5s.	0½d.
Stockton ,,	£26	2s.	5½d.

Wapontake of Sadberge, £4 4s., unde dictus constalarius oneratur supra (page 274).

There are exemptions or allowances, which *seem* large.

Darlington Ward,	£60	18s.	11½d.
Chester ,,	£15	18s.	8½d.
Easington ,,	£30	18s.	10½d.
Stockton ,,	£18	15s.	10½d.

Wapontake of Sadberge, 26s. 9d.

To return to the duties of Burgages, they were held by service at the Borough Court, and their lands by military service and paying *socage*. The custom in the Borough of Newcastle was that a Burgage may give, or sell, his land and go freely and quietly where he pleases, unless there is a suit against him, but no Burgage may fight a Villein without forfeiting his Burgage, under a fine of 6 ovae (Dodd).

Duties of a Cottager. Robert Dykon holds 1 Cottage, called *Castleman*, containing 1 rood of land, and he makes 3 precationes (service of 1 day's work in the fields) and receives 8d., and brings hens and eggs for refreshment of the Bishop, wheresoever he be, infra Tynam and Tese, and at the 4 terms, pays 6d.

In Hartburn (between Sadberge and Stockton):

(1) 4 cottages render the usual services to the lord at the 4 terms, and pay 6d. each term per cottage.
(2) They have a common bakehouse, and at the 4 terms, each pays 2s.
(3) They have a common coach, for which they pay nothing to the lord, and so enquiry must be made.
(4) They have a common forge for which each man must pay 2d. per ann.
(5) They have a cow-byre for milch cow, the lowest class of Bond Tenants, and at Martinmas they pay 6s.

The Ferryman at Eaglescliffe, *cum batello* (boat) pays to the Bishop 53s. 4d. per ann.

The common Bakehouse at Norton, pays the Bishop 66s. 8d.

The Corn Mills at Norton, Stockton, Hertburn, with grass-lands, pay £26 13s. 4d.

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Hatfield Survey (Liberi Tenantes).

Thomas Surteys holds 1 messuage and 100 acres of land and meadow. 1 corn mill in centre (med ietate) (Cotham Munderville) besides *Ward of Castri* pro qui *ballivus* Sadberge, et red. per forinsecum (market tolls) servitum, 9s. 8d.

John Morton, Patrick of Morton, Henry Allewent, Wm. Smyth of Wynston, Adam Casson, and the heirs of *Robert Ogle of Killerby,* hold 100 acres of land and grass, with other lands on which a corn mill preter Warden of Camp, for which the Bailiff of Sadberge makes a return, and all the aforesaid persons pay at the Feast of Pentecost et Martinmas, 9s. 4d. 1 lb. piperis (of piper). (Is this what is legally called Peppercorn Rent? It is about 1350 A.D.)

Greatham Hospital. Magister Hospitale de Greatham holds 1 Vaccarium (a place for keeping cows, with ground for buildings for shelter and pasture) "*Swyn hopland,*" and pays on St. Cuthbert's Day, in September, 2s.

Corn Mills at Cornforth. Tenantes at Cornforth hold 1 Corn Mill Aquatremma (water), et 1 Corn Mill Ventriticeni (wind), with tolneto (toll), and pays at the 4 terms, £18 6s. 8d. Thus Cornforth, near Ferry Hill, 600 years ago, had both a *Water* and also a *Wind* Mill, probably a unique possession.

Summary of Old Burgages Roll in Bishop Hatfield's Survey, 1881.

Old Burgages 90.
3 Tenementina.
1 Medietatum.
3 Messuagia.
3 Placeams.
1 Croft.
Acreage 613.
Rent Roll 115s. 6d. or about 4s. 6d. per acre.
1 Salar or Hall.

The Tenementum must have been a substantial residence. John Killinghall probably belonged to the Killinghall family, and his tenement in Sadberge Wapontake was 60 acres. John Waryn held a Tenementum with 30 acres, and this is probably the Waryn who was lord of Morton, and who appears in connection with Sadberge Church.

Much depends on the value of money in 1382, but if it were 20 times more than in the 20th century, then land was worth £4 10s. 0d. per acre.

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CHAPTER XIII.

Manor of Sadberge and Wapontake after 1189.

Canon Raine, the historian of York, asserts that Bishop Pudsey, though he purchased both Manor and Wapontake, yet *never held* them. Coldingham (Scriptores Trees) says: "Jussit præterea. Regi Mille II Marco quas pro Sadbergia et aliis dignitatibus promiserat solui."*

Probably the facts will never be known. Those who *know* are in the grave, and it is silent. Yet, it is on record that in purchasing the Manor and Wapontake of Sadberge, Pudsey *exchanged* with the *King* 6 Knightly Fees, in the County of Lincoln, and in addition he paid 600 marcs towards the purchase price; still it seems that he never had actual possession, and eventually the Crown seized both Manor and Wapontake on the plea that, as the seal of the deed was lost, a new deed was necessary. Before the transaction was completed, Pudsey died and the King also. How true are the lines:—

"The world is a well-furnished table,
Where guests are promiscuously set;
They all fare as well as they're able,
And scramble for what they can get."

It is probably true that Pudsey's ambition in this business produced and multiplied his enemies. He was inveigled into Tickhill Castle, made a prisoner, and required (1) to resign his office as Justiciary of the North; (2) to restore the Manor and Wapontake of Sadberge; (3) to hand over his castles, and (4) honours (Earldom). On these conditions he secured his release, having left Henry de Pudsey as hostage (Gesta Rich. 109.11). When released, he went north, and was again arrested at Howden, was kept a prisoner, and appealed to King Richard, then at Marseilles. The King commanded: (1) The restoration of the Manor and Wapontake of Sadberge, the restoration of his honours, and

* See also Lapsley, p. 292 note.

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the payment of 2,000 marcs, but annulled the deprivation of Pudsey in 1194, by Archbishop of York declaring it null and void. (Rog. Hov. iii.)

The Bishop is reported to have secured the monies.

"This is a very good world to live in,
To lend, to spend, or to give in.
But to beg, or to borrow, or to get a man's own,
'Tis the very worst world that ever was known."

This must have been the Bishop's experience. However, it is said that he started for London in possession of the 2,000 marcs, in order to complete the purchase of the Manor and Wapontake. He spent Shrove Tuesday at Creyke and kept the Carnival there, rode next day to York and Doncaster, and at Howden was seized with a fatal attack on March 3rd, 1194, and was buried in the Chapter House, Durham. The King had received the monies paid by Pudsey in 1189, but the Crown had discovered by the monies paid into the Exchequer Courts from the Manor and Wapontake of Sadberge, their large amount. We give an extract from the Assize Rents as returned by Hugh Bardelf, the High Bailiff of Assize, for the short period from the second Sunday in Lent to Easter, £330 33s. 4d., a period of four weeks. The *Manorial* Rents are returned :—

Manors for	½	year,	£869 14s.	2d.
„	„ 1	„	£4,247 8s.	0½d.
„	„ 1	„	£2,572 14s.	2d.
„	„ 1	„	£2,771 6s.	11½d.

Total from Manors in 3½ years, £10,461 1s. 4d. Add: "Fines for Escheats, præposteres, and fines for women that they might not be given in marriage against their will, by Rt. de Marisco and Brian de Insula, £1,196 8s. 4d." These particulars are from the great Exchequer Rolls in 1197, only eight years after the purchase of the Manor and Wapontake of Sadberge from King Richard by Bishop Pudsey. Considering the revenues arising therefrom, the delay in giving either Pudsey or his successors actual possession is all in harmony with human nature.

Bishop Pictavia renewed negotiations to secure possession of the Manor and Wapontake of Sadberge, but in the meantime the Crown had granted two Charters, both of which limited the rights and reduced the revenues, both of Manor and Wapontake.

(1) King John had granted a Charter to the Burgesses of Hartlepool for which they paid the King 30 merks.

(2) He also granted a Charter to Wm. de Brus, the lord of Hart, to hold a Market on Wednesday at Hartlepool.

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Now in 1197, when this revenue of £10,461 1s. 4d. was received by the Exchequer, Bishop Pictavia had agreed to pay King Richard 500 mercs, to *complete* the transference of the Manor and Wapontake from the Crown to the See of Durham, in addition to the sum the Crown had received in 1189. He had agreed to this; but "the schemes of men and mice gang aft agley," and Richard died in 1197, before legal effect had been given to the bargain.

In 1199 there are two new parties to the transaction, a new King and another Bishop—Bishop Pictavia was consecrated Bishop two years after Bishop Pudsey's death—and in these two years probably the Crown had discovered the value of this Crown property. The new Bishop opened negotiations with King John, who was in possession of the Manor and Wapontake of Sadberge. However, the King would not accept the terms agreed upon between Bishop Pictavia and King Richard, but raised the sum to be paid from 500 marcs to 1,200. This was agreed upon both by King and Bishop in 1199, ten years after the previous bargain with Richard. It would seem that these transactions were not very straightforward, and were marked by duplicity; yet it is to be remembered that from 1189 to 1200, the revenues of the Manor and Wapontake had chiefly passed to the Crown through the Exchequer.

There are one or two small differences to be noted between the Charters of Richard and John in conveying this Crown property.

Richard's Charter conveys "Manerum nostrum pertinentibus," whereas King John's Charter: "To the Bishop and his successors the Manor of Sadberg and Wapontake, Knights' Fees, and all appurtenances in woods and planes, with Sac or Soc, as when Richard first had them." It is said that this Charter conveyed: "Jura Regalia" in the clause "*pertaining to the Crown.*"

Now, this conveyance of these rights of the Crown to the See led to bitter disputes:—

In *Hartlepool:*

"Peter de Brus, lord of Skelton, as Guardian for the Vth Robert de Brus, disputed the Bishop's right to wreckage in his Ward, and seized a wreck, and was fined 50s. by the Justices of Sadberge.

"It seems also that a Burgess of Hartlepool named Gerard de Seton had been favourable to the Bishop's claim as lord of the Manor of Sadberge; so Peter sent one of his servants, called Henry de Haugbere, and many others, took Gerard and lodged him in Skelton Castle. The

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Bishop excommunicated those who had imprisoned Gerard, and compelled the mighty Baron de Brus of Skelton Castle to liberate Gerard. For this capture and imprisonment the Justices of Sadberge fined Brus £20, and vindicated the Bishop's rights to wrecks as lord of the Manor of Sadberge."* (£20 was a large sum in the thirteenth century.)

This Assize trial led to an intervention by William the Earl of Albemarle, and the Earl of Lincoln, John de Lacy, who interviewed the Bishop at Darlington, so as to prevent future disputes *re* Bishop's rights in his Manor. The result was (1) the Bishop relaxed the fine on de Brus (2) on condition that henceforth he should have all wreckage at sea in his Manor *sine contradictione.*† This case seems to be the first tried at Sadberge after the Charter granted to Bishop Pictavia. It is stated that waifs and strays had been granted to Bishop Poer in 1229, but the rights to wreckage belonged to the Manor.

Bishop Kellaw's Register gives the decisions of the two Earls :—"Ita quod ab illo die episcopus habuit wreccum maris quotienscumque contigit pacifice sine contradictione Petri de Brus et omnium aliorum tempore vacationum" [*i.e., when the See is vacant*].‡ "Memorandum in Registrone de quodam batello de wrek tempore Nicholas de Molis, custodis episcopetus (1248) vendito per Johannem de Kingston tunc Vicecomitem" [*i.e., Sheriff*] "de Sadberg pro iiijs qui pacati fuerunt ad saccarium" [*i.e., Exchequer*] "Dunelmi."§

Kellaw's Register also records (page 60) the fine inflicted by the Justices of Sadberge on Robert de Brus, lord of Skelton :—

"Tempore Nicholas Episcopi 1248 nulla fuit contentio de wrek quia Episcopus habuit totam wrek tempore suo sine contradictione."

To be in the Manor and Wapontake of Sadberge meant obligations to certain Courts, services, duties, and fines, which greatly restricted the enjoyment of real property; and the opposition to render these services was not diminished when they were transferred from the Crown to the Bishop. This we have seen in the opposition at Hartlepool by the lord of Skelton Castle. But a fiercer contest arose between the Balliols and the Bishop as Lord of the Manor and Wapontake of Sadberge: (1) *Re* Long Newton, (2) *Re* Barnard Castle. Up to as recently as 1860, Long Newton parish included the eastern side of Sadberge village, its ancient inn, Prospect House, and

* Longstaff's History of Darlington, pp. 126-130. † Ibid. p. 68.
‡ Kellaw's Registers, p. 60. § Ibid. p. 48.

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Bumper Hall Farm; and for these parishioners of Long Newton there was a pew called the Sadberge Pew in Long Newton Church.

The owner of Long Newton was the Earl of Warwick. His successors to this property were the Balliols, of Barnard Castle. It is probable that these persons held their property direct from the Crown, and when the Manor and Wapontake of Sadberge transferred Royal rights to the *Bishop*, these persons questioned the transfer. It was common to claim exemption from the services and duties required by the Manor, if by so doing the services could be avoided; but in the case of the Balliols, the claim set up was that they were in the Honour of Gainford, and in the County of Northumberland, and thus outside either the Manor and Wapontake of Sadberge, or the Franchise of St. Cuthbert.

Several Conventions were held—one in 1231, to settle the Long Newton case, and another in 1254, and again in 1461 to settle the Barnard Castle and Balliol's relation to the Manor and Wapontake of Sadberge. In 1231 Bishop Poer was Bishop of Durham and Lord of the Manor and Wapontake of Sadberge. In 1254 an agreement seems to have been made that the lord of Barnard Castle should do suit and service to the Manor and Wapontake of Sadberge, and it is likely that attempts were made at a later date (1461) to embrace all the Balliol estates in the Manor. Their property seems to have been part of the Great Honour of Gainford, and held direct from the Crown, and in ancient Northumbria; but these Conventions of 1231, 1254, and 1461 settled that they were in the Manor and Wapontake of Sadberge.

The Convention held 1231, *re Long Newton forming part of the Manor and Wapontake of Sadberge.*

(1) *The Award:*

"The Bishop grants that Baliol and his heirs shall hold the Vill of Long Newton as their Ancestors held it by homage and service, viz.: For half of the Vill the 4th part of a Knight's Service, and for the other half £10 sterling, 100s. at Pentecost, 100s. at Feast of St. Martin's in winter, and John and his heirs shall give the Bishop Ward and Scutage of five Knights' fees, and one-quarter and suit at the Wapontake of Sadberge for all their land within the said Wapontake." (This seems to include Barnard Castle.) "Further, the said John [Baliol] took his own personal Oath to observe this Convention, and so did John Fitz-Robert, Eustace de Baliol, Walter de Fontaines;

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and Hy. de Baliol and Nigel de Baliol shall take the same Oath, and surety shall be made for the Bishop by Ralph, Prior of Durham, Ralph, Prior de Finchale, Master Wm. the Archdeacon and John of Runes the Seneschal; and John de Baliol and those of his party swore faithfully that they would labour to obtain of the King that the Bishop may have the homage of Gainford and of the aforesaid Knight's fee and service which are *within* the Wapontake of Sadberge and held of the Barony, and he, Baliol, shall readily perform it, and if the King enquire of Baliol as to the said homage he shall answer according to the truth, as far as enquiry may be made of the best and wisest men of the country, and so soon as the Bishop shall have had Baliol's homage for the service, Knight's fee and one-fourth, he shall readily give up to Baliol all the ancient Charter of the Vill of Newton.

"At Auckland, December 5th, 1231, in the presence of Archdeacon of Durham and Robert de Ambrose, Jordan Hayman, Hugh de Capella, Jordam de Dalda, and others."

"This Deed is under Seal remaining with my Lord of Durham himself, and was taken out of the iron chest by Archdeacon Cradock."*

Result of this Convention of 1231.

It seems that the Balliols resented the supremacy which this Deed of 1231 gave to the Bishop. In the time of Bishop Farnham, ten years later, the King, Henry III, thus writes to the Lord of Balliol:—

"The King to his trusty and beloved John Bayloyal, on the complaint of Walter, Bishop of Durham." [Bishop Farnham died 1249, and Bishop Walter de Kirkham succeeded in 1249.] "Whereas Bayloyal's men had intruded into Long Newton Church, and occupied the same by armed force, the Bishop excommunicated the offenders, and, after they had continued impenitent forty days, caused sicut modus est in regno nostro, to be seized by the secular arm, and hereupon Eustace de Baliol, Jocelyn his Brother, Henry FitzRalph, and many others lying in Ambush, armed and provided with horsemen in a certain wood which lay in the road of the Bishop and his retinue, sent certain Knights and Esquires out of the same wood, who seized the Bishop, his clerks, domestics, and with swords and other weapons did irreverently insult and most enormously handle them, and four of the said Bishop's familiars detain and to Barnard Castle take, and there imprison them, and do still in prison keep, to the manifest prejudice of the Bishop's dignity and in

* Hunter's MS., see Surtees, p. 212.

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breach of our peace, which the Bishop hath within his Franchise Royal, betwixt Tyne and Tees; wherefore the King orders John Baliol to release his prisoners, and make competent satisfaction to the Bishop that we may hear no more of this matter, otherwise we shall be obliged to lay a differing hand to the business.

"Witness to the King at York, August 18th, 1254."

(*Quod ad nos inde querela amplius non perveniat, per quod manum ad hoc aliter apponere debeamus.*)*

With regard to the dispute in 1461 between the Balliols and the Bishop of Durham, as lord of the Manor and Wapontake of Sadberge, we can only find a Declaration made by a Judge, who had evidently heard the case at Newcastle.

The fullest account of the Manor and Wapontake of Sadberge we have seen is to be found in Bishop Hatfield's Survey, 1345-1381. In this Survey there is added to the description of the Wapontake of Sadberge, Declaration of Judge Rodes, viz.:

"I, Robert Rodes, sat at Newcastle, by force of a Writ after the death of the Earlie of Warwyche, and there took an inquisition of the Castle of Barnard in the Bishopric of Durham, and informed them that they were sworn by this inquisition that the Castle at Barnard Castle was in the County of Northumberland, by which I hurt the liberty of and title of the Church of St. Cuthbert in Durham for which I sorely *repent*. Wherefore, I beseech my lord of Durham of his grace and absolution at the reverence of Jesu.

"Written by my own hand at Durham, 29th April, in the first year of the reign of Ed. IV (1461)."

Thus the Conventions held in 1231, also the one in 1254, and the declaration of Judge Rodes in 1461, all declare that the lands of the Balliols, at Long Newton and also at Barnard Castle, are in the Manor and Wapontake of Sadberge, and that the owners of both Long Newton and Barnard Castle owe the suits, services, fees, and duties required to the Bishop of Durham, to whom homage and services are to be paid as the Lord of the Manor and Wapontake of Sadberge.

The Wapontake of Sadberge was attached by Pudsey in 1189 to the Franchise of St. Cuthbert. King John confirmed this by Charter, under which the Bishop claimed *Jura Regalia* in Sadberge.* Longstaff, in a paper read at a meeting of the Antiquarian Society of Durham, at Haughton Rectory, said: "In 1154 (Henry III), in a confirmation to Wm. de Vesey, the great lord of Alnwick in Northumberland,

* Prynne, vol. ii. Rolls 39 Hy. III. 1254.

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we obtain a glimpse of the Sadberge portion of the Saxon Wapontake, Wm. de Vesey, holding Morton and Burdon (now forming part of Sadberge parish) with their appurtenances under Waltheof, son of Elsi, and Elam his lord (Earls of Northumberland)." Yet Ryley's Placito, part 35, Ed. II (1307-27), states: "When Ed. II seized the temporalities of the Bishopric, Bishop Beck contended that the Saxon Wapontake of Sadberge, with the Manor attached, was lately purchased from the King's predecessor, and was *extraneous* to the royal of Durham."* The King, in 1290, issued a *quo warranto*, but Bishop Beck declined to appear, because it was derogatory to his dignity as Palatinus; so Ed. I seized the revenues. Also in 1307, Ed. I seized them on the plea that the purchase of 1189 was a new purchase, and required a new agreement.

The extent of the Manor and Wapontake in Saxon times we have not been able to discover. In all probability, the Saxon Wapontake embraced the Saxon kingdom. We have found no description earlier than Bishop Hatfield in the fourteenth century. Surtees asserts: "In the time of Bishop Langley (1406-37) Barnard Castle, Marwood, Middleton-in-Teesdale, Newbiggin, Stainton, and other places in the western extremity of the County, were in the Wapontake of Sadberge." This Hutchinson confirms; also Judge Rodes in 1461 affirmed this in his sealed Declaration. The Bolden Buke, 1183, only gives a few glimpses, and Kellaw's Registers, 1311-16, state that the County of Sadberge included Morton, Headlam, Gainford, Thorpe Thewles, Aldacres, Butterwyk, Thorleston; also West Hertburn, Seton Carew, Hartlepool, and Eaglescliffe were in the Wapontake and County; so that in the fourteenth century the entire County of Durham, from the west at Barnard Castle, to the east coast at Hartlepool, were in the Wapontake and County of Sadberge. It may be that the great landowners, like Robert de Brus of Skelton Castle, and the Balliols of Barnard Castle and Long Newton, opposed the change of ownership from King to the Bishop of Durham, and probably it was not until the time of Bishop Hatfield, in the fourteenth century, that the landowners freely recognised that they held their lands from the Bishop as Palatinus, with the attendant services. Now Hatfield's Survey very carefully distinguishes between the County of Sadberge and the County of Durham, and between their jurisdictions, *e.g.*: "Et que mille homme qu'est pris deinez la franchise de Duresme per faite eamesur, le franchise soit emprison en la Wapontak de Sadberge, ne nulla homme pris

* Life of Archbp. Benson, 2, p. 352.

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pour trespass en la Wapontak soit en prison a Duresme; que n'est pas ore suffert en tempo c'est evesque."*

In the next chapter we hope to give the Wapontake of Sadberge as it appears in Bishop Kellaw's Registers in the fourteenth century, 200 years after Pudsey's purchase from Richard I. From the description of the fourteenth century, the Saxon Wapontake must have been greatly diminished.

* Kellaw's Registers, p. 63.

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CHAPTER XIV.

Re Wapentagium Sadbergia and its Tenants.

The ancient Burgages—Burgagium—was a holding in a town, to which certain borough rights were attached.

At the present time Sadberge is a village. In the fourteenth century it was a *town*. At that date population in the county chiefly centred around the East Coast and the rivers Tyne, Wear, and Tees, yet the old Roman road, through the centre of Sadberge, made it a place of importance and a centre for the Assize. It is regarded as a town, even in the twentieth century, for, if you seek a boy, and he is not at home, an *old* resident will say: "He has gone into the *town*."

Now in 1850, on its Burgess Roll, were 90 persons: three held tenements, one held a meditatum, three held messuages, three others held placeams, and one held a croft. Altogether there were one hundred families. Then it had *cotellus* (cotmen), or *cotrellus*, a kind of villanus—persons who held a cottage with land, for which they rendered manual services to the lord of the manor. The *demesne* lands, the lord retained, and they were chiefly cultivated by bond tenants.

There were two kinds of tenure in the Wapontake: (1) Land held by Knight's service—suit of Court once in three weeks; keeping the Gaol, a duty extended to neighbouring manors, *e.g.*, Aislaby, one-quarter of the custody; Neasham had one-fifth, and the Manor of Hurworth had one-eighth.

Sadberge seems to have had 618 acres, which gave a rent of 115s. 6d., which is about 4s. 6d. per acre, and this appears insignificant, yet in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, if we consider the value of money then and compare it with the twentieth century, very probably this rent was equal to £4 10s. an acre, proving that the place was more of a town than a village.

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(2) Houses were held in *Burgages*. These were free tenures, yet rendered services, and the Survey proves that they made money payments. In Hatfield's Survey there is a list of Old Burgages, eighty-four in number, and a Nova list. It also embraces one tenement, one medisty, one croft, named Pedcock Croft, two messagiums, five placeams, which are named Preston Place, Beata Maria, Stoker Place, Vokkers Place, Wormerland, Fryggesplace. Thus in the fourteenth century

> "They fondly called their lands their own
> And to their distant heirs secured."

These Burgages of Sadberge seem to have their parallel in those of Warkworth, held from the Duke of Northumberland.

It is asserted that Bishop Pudsey was Earl of Northumberland, and it is hardly surprising that there should be similarities between the Burgages of Sadberge and Warkworth.

The Vicar of Warkworth thus describes the Warkworth Burgages: "The whole of Warkworth is divided into seventy freeholds, though I am told they used to be copyholds, with a *fine* on each. How was it extinguished? I do not believe that it was.

"Each freehold fronts the street, and maintains its width as far back as the garden could be carried on the west side, to the top of the river bank (the Coquet river). On the east side, to the boundary of the archery grounds of the village, known as the Butts, these freeholds give the village some of its charm; no hideous rows of houses, but a continuous yet broken frontage, each freeholder building to his own taste and needs.

"To each freehold (Burgages) belongs a Ten, and a suite (used for growing potatoes of late years), and a freehold of half an acre for grass or corn. At one time there was a common, but this was sold some 200 years ago to the Duke of Northumberland, along with other lands. In its place was substituted some fields, and we each have half an acre of grass and half an acre of arable land, for which a rent is paid to the Duke."

This description is probably a true one of the Burgages of Sadberge in 1189, and a list of whom appears in Hatfield's Survey, 1381.

Perhaps their privileges are illustrated in the *Costumal* of Preston, Lancashire. This is a very ancient document. It says: "Every Burgess of Preston, by applying to the Mayor, has to be admitted to his *Burgages*, and he had to build on that burgage within forty days, upon forfeiture."

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It is remarkable that Bishop's rents in Sadberge, *received* by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners every year, is *levied* on *Houses*.

It is on record that in 1377 John Waryn died seized of 100 acres and three messuages held by *Burgage fealty*, and by performing the office of Coroner in the County of Sadberge.

Burgage was a very ancient tenure of land, on which a house was erected, and certain services (or payment) were made to the lord of the manor; he had the right to grant land to free tenants, subject to military or other services.

The Statute of Merton (1236) and the Second Statute of Westminster (1285) gave the utmost limit of enclosure allowed in the thirteenth century.

Hutchinson (volume III, page 210): "In Bishop Hatfield's Survey we find that all the lands were held by military service, so noble a portion was Sadberge, anciently."

"The *Burgages* were held in free Borough tenure by service at the Borough Court; and the lands by military service in soccage." (Page 211.)

List of Old Burgages of Sadberge in the Wapontake in the fourteenth century, as appears in Bishop Hatfield's Survey, 1381.

William Fawcon holds 4 Burgages and 30½ acres of land in the fields there, by fealty and suit of Court, from 8 weeks to 8 weeks, and paying a double relief; and he and others, holding lands within the Wapontake (to wit) the Baron of Graystock, the Prioress of Neasham, Robert de Ogles, Walter Taylboys, Isabell the wife of John Percy de Kildale, John de Aslayby, the heirs of Alexr. Surteys, and others, had the keeping of the Gaol and prison, and were answerable for the escape of prisoners, and if they shall escape by evasion or accident, render an account; and the said William makes a return of fines at the Feast of Passover, and St. Michael, in equal portions, 4s. 8d. The said William Fawcon holds lands of John Fawcon junior, 7 acres of land at services aforesaid, returns 14d. The said William Fawcon holds lands of John Ryesden, 2 Burgages, 29 acres of land subject to the usual services, and returns 5s. 10d.

(This gentleman must have held a prominent position in the Wapontake in 1381.)

John Eyre holds 1 acre and a small holding there, subject to the usual services, and returns 20d.

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John in the Wie holds 7 Burgages and 60 acres of land, subject to the usual services, and returns 11d.

Robert Marshall holds 4 Burgages and 17 acres of land, subject to the usual services, and returns 40d.

The said Robert holds 2 Bovates containing 30 acres, subject to the usual services. The said Robert holds 1 Burgage and 7 acres of land, and a small plot formerly belonging to William Waryn, subject to the usual services, and pays 19d. The aforesaid Robert holds a certain tenement called Rygson House, subject to the usual services, and returns 12d.

Robert Wilson in the Wie holds 1 Burgage subject to the usual services, and returns 2d.

John Blakey holds 1 Burgage, subject to the usual services, and returns 6d.

John, son of William, holds 3 Burgages and 40 acres of land subject to the usual services, and pays 5s. 6d. The said John holds 3 Bovates of land, which Richard of Lelon held subject to the usual services, and returns 6s. The said John holds 1 Burgage and 35 acres subject to the usual services, and returns 5s.

John Robertson holds 2 Burgages and XI acres of land subject to the usual services, and pays 2s. 7d.

From these ancient records all *Burgages* were held in free borough tenure, by service at the Borough Court, and the *lands* were held subject to military service.

Nicholas Surteys (capellanus) holds 1 Tenement and 26 acres of land subject to the usual services, and returns 4s.

Wm. Wright holds 4 Burgages and 3 roods of land subject to the usual services, and pays 2s.

John Waryn holds 2 Burgages and 16 acres of land, subject to the usual services, and pays 5s. 7½d.

John of Whitton holds 2 Burgages and 6 acres of land, subject to the usual services, and returns 2s. 9d.

William Food holds 1 Burgage and 2 Bovates of land, subject to the usual services, and pays 5s. 8d., formerly occupied by Richard Lelom.

Wm. Smyth holds 1 Burgage and 6 acres of land, subject to the usual services, and returns 7d. The same Wm. holds 1 Burgage and 4 acres, subject to the usual services, and returns 16d. The same Willelmus holds a certain place called Prestcson place there, subject to the usual services, and pays 2d. The aforesaid Wm. holds 2 acres 3 roods of land there, and 1 croft, subject to the usual services, and pays 6½d.

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Wm. Walefed holds 1 Bovate of land, formerly held by William Waryn, subject to the usual services, and returns 22d.

Henry Draper holds 1 Burgage and 7 acres of land, and a small plot, formerly held by William Waryn, under the usual services, and returns 19d.

Wm. Casson holds 1 tenement, 8 acres, and a small plot, subject to the usual services, and returns 16½d.

Thomas in the Wye holds 1 Medietatum, 1 Messuagii of 12 acres of land there, subject to the usual services, and returns 15d. It appears that this person held a *Mediety* or a *Moiety* of one messuage or cottage, *i.e.*, joint owner.

Robert de Grytham (probably *Greatham*) holds 1 Burgage formerly held by Johanna Freeman, subject to the usual services, and returns 9d. The aforesaid Robert of Grytham holds 4 Burgages, 4 acres of land, and a small plot, formerly held by Alicia Mark, subject to the usual services, and pays 19d.

John Robinson holds 1 Burgage, formerly assigned to Alicia Mark, subject to the usual services, and returns 6d. The aforesaid John Robinson holds 2 Burgages there, subject to the usual services, and returns 12d.

Wm. Cooper holds 7 Burgages and 10 acres, and a small plot of land there, subject to the usual services, and pays 5s. 2d.

Robert Gretham holds XI Burgages and 37 acres of land, subject to the customary services, and pays 7s. 10d. The same Robert holds 1 Burgage and 3 acres, formerly held by Cecilia Milner, subject to the customary services, and pays 10d.

Willelmus Wakerfield holds 1 Croft, called Pedcock Croft, and 2 acres, and a small plot meadows (prati) in the Broad-syke, subject to the customary services, and pays 11d. (This is the first time "*Croft*" appears in the Survey; it was a small piece of enclosed ground, adjoining a house.)

Wm. Middleton holds 2 acres of land, formerly Richardi de Puncey's, subject to the customary services, and pays 3½d.

Nicholas Coyll holds 1 *placeam*, vocatem Pokkesplace, and 1 acre of land, vocatem Woomesland, subject to the usual services, and returns 2s. 4d.

Wm. Cowper holds 6 acres of land there, and subject to the customary services, and pays 10d. The same William holds 1 *placeam*, vocatem Fyggesplace, subject to the usual services, and pays 7d.

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Wm. Waryn holds 1 *Messagium*, and 30 acres, subject to the customary services, and pays 4s. 4d. (This is the first mention of Messagium.)

(Now Thomas Surteys held 1 Burgagium, and 8 acres, for 6d. per ann.; whereas Waryn paid 8 *times more* for his messagium. Evidently Waryn held a prominent position in Morton Palmes.)

John Kylinghall holds 1 Messagium, et 60 acres, and pays 8s. 8d., and renders the customary services. (He held twice the land that Waryn did, and paid accordingly.)

John Hogh holds 1 Burgage, subject to the usual services, and pays at the Feast of S. Cuthbert, in September, 6d.

John Haffert holds 10 Burgages and 1 Croft, subject to the usual services, and pays 6d.

Richard Pateson holds *placeam*, Beata Maria, subject to the usual services, and pays 6d. per ann.

Thomas Surteys holds 7 acres and a small plot, subject to the customary services, and pays 13d. per ann. The aforesaid Thomas Surteys holds 1 Burgage, formerly in the occupation of Ismayna de Layton, subject to the customary services, and returns 12d., and the aforesaid Richard Pateson holds 8 Burgages et 7 acres, and a small plot, subject to the customary services, and returns 2s. 10d. per ann.

Adam Clerc holds 2 acres and 1 rood, "Eoca-ta" (forfeiture) Domini, formerly in the occupation of the aforesaid Ismayna de Layton, subject to the customary services, and returns 13d. per annum. The said Adam (Clerc) holds 1 Burgage, subject to the usual services, and pays 12d. per ann.

Henry de Ingleby (Clericus) holds 8 Burgages and 21 acres of land, subject to the usual services, and pays 5s. per annum. (This person was the owner of Ripley Castle, in later days made famous in Cromwellian times by its loyalty to the Stuarts, and defying Cromwell himself. Probably this Henry de Ingleby was a secular priest, as he rented 21 acres from the lord of the Manor of Sadberge, though the sum appears merely nominal.)

It almost appears that the lord of Dinsdale (Surteys) had a messuage, and the lord of Ripley Castle held 8 Burgages and 21 acres of land, and Isabella de Layton also held land in Sadberge, that in the 14th century it had become residential, and attracted distinguished families in Yorkshire. In Roman times, Sadberge was a famous military centre, and in the 13th and 14th centuries, its fine situation had made it

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residential. If, in the 20th century, it possessed railway facilities, there can be little doubt that it would regain its residential attraction, which it had six centuries ago.

William Dawson holds 1 Burgage and 6 acres, subject to the customary services, and pays 9d. per ann.

Henry Hamilton holds 1 Burgage, and 1 small plot of 14 acres, subject to the usual services, and pays 2s. 2d.

William Stothawe (Salar) holds 1 Burgage, called Stoker place, subject to the customary services, and pays 12d. per ann. (*Salar* means Hall, so an occupier in the 14th century had his Hall, and its occupant was Stothawe. Stothawe also held a Tenementium, and 12 acres formerly held by Thomas Willeson, subject to the usual services, and pays 7s. 6d. to the lord of the manor.

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CHAPTER XV.

Sketch of Bishop Hatfield.

Hitherto for our knowledge of the Manor and Wapontake of Sadberge we have been indebted to three sources: (1) the Bolden Buke of Bishop Pudsey, 1183; (2) the Register of Bishop Kellaw, 1311-16; (3) the Register of Bishop Hatfield, 1380.

We give a sketch of Bishop Thomas Hatfield, who has left a famous name. He was born in Holderness, and was the son of Sir Walter Hatfield. He was Keeper of the Privy Seal, and Prebendary of Lincoln, 1342. He was appointed Tutor to the Prince of Wales, who introduced him to Court, and a courtier he was through life.

In 1345, Richard de Bury, Bishop of Durham, died, and the King was desirous to secure the appointment of his successor, but it belonged to the Prior and Monks of Durham. It is rumoured that the King wrote to the Pope, wishing Hatfield to succeed Bishop Bury, but that certain Cardinals objected "Dictum Thomas fore levem and laicum." Clement replied: "Vere si rex pro asino supplicasset obtinuisset ad vota ista vica."

It seems remarkable that the Prior and Monks raised no opposition to this royal interference with their ancient rights. However, May 8th, 1346, Hatfield was elected Bishop of Durham, consecrated July 10th, and enthroned on Christmas Day, 1346, in Durham Cathedral.

He accompanied the King to France, and after the Battle of Crecy, 1346, he buried the King of Bohemia. During his absence, the Scots invaded the Palatinate, and the Battle of Bearpark was fought at Neville's Cross, October 17th, 1346.

Hatfield returned to his diocese, summoned his Palatinate Council, and, between 1350 and 1357, held six commissions to treat with the Scots, and rescue David Bruce. The truce of 1355, Averbury attributes to the Bishop.

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He lived in royal style, for when he had to appear in Parliament, the Admiral of the North was instructed to provide three ships to convey his victuals, and to enable him to take his seat in the House of Lords. It is said that he was dignified, lordly, yet hospitable and even munificent in his benefactions, and a worthy successor to worthy Pudsey, the warrior Beke, and the scholastic Bury.

In Durham Cathedral he is perpetuated by a noble tomb and Bishop's Seat, and more recently by the founding and endowing of Bishop Hatfield's Hall in connection with Durham University, which has rendered excellent service in preparing men for Holy Orders. Amongst his benefactions are (1) the South side of the present choir of the Cathedral, (2) the Dining Hall of the Castle, perhaps one of the finest in the County of Durham. His beneficence was not confined to his diocese, for he endowed a College at Oxford, now known as Trinity.

He commissioned, in 1845, nine persons to execute the provisions of the Statutes of Westminster, Northampton, and Westminster, for the preservation of the peace in Durham and Sadberge.

He seems to have introduced Magistrates, for in 1885 he commissioned five persons for the preservation of the peace, and the document is in the Chancery Roll as Commissio Justiciariorum, with J.P. added to their names.

Probably, the diocese saw very little of its Bishop during the first ten years of his Episcopate.

In 1845 he accompanied the King to France with one hundred armed men of Durham. During his absence the Scottish invasion caused great bitterness throughout the Palatinate. In 1846 Copeland, a Northumberland knight, had taken the Scottish king prisoner, and the race hatred was so intense that even Guilds made rules forbidding the admittance of a Scot to the Guild—neither male nor female could be apprenticed—and their executives enforced the rules, *e.g.*, Barbers' Guild in 1468, Butchers' in 1520, the Goldsmiths' in 1552, the Skinners' in 1507. Notwithstanding this race hatred, as Palatinus, he made peace with the Scots. Their King died in 1871, yet the Palatinate forces remained on the Scottish borders, as a protection from another invasion.

Bishop Hatfield strenuously defended the Palatinate rights, and also those of the Prior and Monks of Durham.

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These were exceedingly valuable, for all hides and fleeces carried over Berwick Bridge to the south side were subject to *cocket, i.e.*, toll to the Bishop of Durham, and without his seal they were forfeited to him. In addition, on the south side of the Tyne, all ships paid toll to the Bishop, and all ships passing up the Tyne paid toll to him, as one-third of the river belonged to the Bishop; and as Palatinus, he claimed all wrecks. In the sixties, there was a skeleton of a huge whale in the room under the Dean and Chapter Library, which Bishop Hatfield had claimed as Palatinus. In 1407, the Corporation refused to pay these tolls, but the Bishop took the case into Court, and his rights as Palatinus were upheld; Jura Regalia gave him one-third of the bridge at Newcastle-on-Tyne, and a toll on all purchases. These rights as Palatinus were disputed at Hartlepool. De Brus questioned his rights. Hartlepool was the chief port in the diocese; the Bishop laid his rights before the King, who upheld his Jura Regalia rights. For upholding the rights of Palatinus, Bishop Hatfield in 1848 secured a grant of 400 marcs from the notables and community of the liberty towards the litigation. This is the *last* instance in surviving records of a money grant to the Bishop (Rolls I Hatfield).

Archdeacon Neville of Durham was elected in 1374 Archbishop of York. Bishop Hatfield consecrated Neville and after gave him the Pall as Archbishop of York. Neville claimed jurisdiction over the See of Durham. As Palatinus, Hatfield appealed to the King, who issued a Royal Order restraining the Archbishop from infringing or interfering with the rights of the Bishop of Durham, as Palatinus Jura Regalia. The King prohibited the Archbishop from levying taxes in the Palatinate, because "this was unheard of within living memory, for the Bishop of Durham is Earl Palatinate, and by royal authority has temporal jurisdiction over all his subjects." "He and his predecessors have always exercised such jurisdiction by their own officers." Thus Neville's claims failed.

As Palatinus, Bishop Hatfield in 1377 issued his licence for Sir John Neville to fortify Raby Castle, "Qui de long tempo adeste de nostra consule et nous servant" (Rolls II).

Bishop Hatfield's health began to fail. The Prior and Monks made special prayers to God for his restoration to health. He grew weaker, and retired to London and died at Stepney, May 8th, 1381. He was interred in the gorgeous tomb he had erected in the south aisle of the Cathedral at Durham.

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An Account of Hatfield's Survey.

It was published in 1882 after his death, and is nearly 200 years later than the Bolden Book. It gives a Rent Roll of the *Wapontake and Manor of Sadberge.* It is valuable, as it gives reliable information as to the revenues from the Manor and Wapontake two centuries after Pudsey had annexed them to the See. In Hatfield's Survey we have the fullest account of a "Wapentagium de Sadberge" that we have seen. This was *Saxon* in its origin (Surtees), and the *Encyclopædia Brittanica* asserts: "The word Wapontake in the north is only found in connection with Sadberge." We regard this as a historic fact, though we have been unable to discover (1) its origin; (2) its date; (3) its extent; (4) its boundaries. Perhaps others can solve all four difficulties.

Page, in his Northumberland Palatine, says: "The Earl of Northumberland exercised Jura Regalia over his lands, which included the present counties, Northumberland, Durham, Lancashire, Richmond, Holderness, Hexham, Tynemouth, Tynedale." Bishop Pudsey was Earl of Northumberland. Durham formed an integral part of the Earldom of Northumberland before the time of the first Norman Bishop, 1070-1080, and to Bishop Beke it was a liberty in the County of Northumberland, and the term County of Durham is "*essentially modern*" and through the Middle Ages we only hear of the Bishopric. (Lapsley.)

"Wapontakium is a territorial division used in the Northern Counties, another name for Hundred used in the Palatinate in connection with Sadberge, and in the North, Sadberge is the only Wapontake" (Greenwell). "Et quod Angli vocant Hundredum supra dicta comitatus vocant Wapentagium" (page 207 Glossary). Its extent in Saxon times is obscure, though it is a Saxon institution, yet "after the fourteenth century the Wapontake of Sadberge had its separate County Court, and the bulk of its judicial business was transferred from the County Court to the Assizes, which were first at Sadberge, and *later* in the City of Durham; also Quarter Sessions were held in the old County Courts, and in 1807 the return of the County Court at Sadberge was £89 15s. 1d" (Lapsley, p. 291).

Beck's Charter declares: "For purposes of arrest and imprisonment, the Wapontake of Sadberge is to be regarded as a venue *distinct* from the rest of the Palatinate, except in cases of trespass against the Bishop" (see Lapsley, p. 291).

Hatfield's Survey gives a list of Landowners, their lands, and rents payable to the Bishop as Lord of the Manor. It

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adds the rents of Freeholders, Burgages, Cotters, with their holdings, housing acreage, rents in the Palatinate, and also gives the four wards, Darlington, Chester-le-Street, Easington and Stockton, to which is added a list of the old and new Burgages of the Wapontake of Sadberge, and probably covers 1845 to 1881.

From this Survey it appears that Stockton was made a Borough in 1808, and paid the Bishop of Durham 20s. 6d. per term, *i.e.*, annually 82s. It adds very remarkable information, *i.e.*, a list of the Knights and Barons in the Wapontake of Sadberge who fought for King Henry III in 1264 at the Battle of Lewes, against the Earl of Leicester, when the King was defeated, taken prisoner, and only restored after the victory of Evesham.

Henry died during his son's absence on a Crusade, after a reign of fifty-six years, in 1272. "In character he was weak and credulous, in private life gentle and affectionate, of middle size, had a droop of the left eyelid which gave an odd expression to his face" (Collier).

Only two others sat longer on the English throne—George III and Queen Victoria.

Let us record the Knights and Barons of Sadberge, as recorded in Hatfield's Register.

List of the Barons and Knights of Sadberge who fought at Lewes in 1264.

Barons:

Sir John de Baliol	(Castel Bernard).
Sir Robert de Nevill	(Raby).
Sir Piers de Brays	(Hert).
Sir Roger Bertram	(Greatham).

Knights: (Nineteen died for Henry III.)

Sir Thomas de Quytworth	(Whitworth)	Demorant.
Sir Adam Boltby	(Bolam)	,,
Sir Robert Fraynor	(Shellam)	,,
Sir William Vavasor	(Cookfield)	,,
Sir Robert Wybers	(Somerhour)	,,
Sir John de Eggilston	(Eggilston)	,,
Sir Adam Lumsden	(Grendon)	,,
Sir Robert de Chabrey	(Hurworth sur Gays)	,,
Sir Humprey del Tours	(Brafferton)	,,
Sir Humfrey de Conyers	(Sockburn)	,,
Sir Walter Arsy	(Long Newton)	,,
Sir William FitzRandulf	(Conyscliff)	,,
Sir William de Mustres	(Bradbury)	,,

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Sir Rawff Surteys	(Didyncale)	Demorant.
Sir Symond de More	(Moreton)	,,
Sir Randolf de Fishburn	(Fishburne)	,,
Sir Rawff de Middleton	(Petit Haughton)	,,
Sir John de Morton	(Morton)	,,
Sir Hugh de Burdon	(Grendon)	,,

The three surviving Knights were:

Sir Hugh de Gabyon	(Gudhoe).
Sir Walter de Carrowe	(Seton Carrowe).
Sir Thomas de Aislaby	(Asklaby).

They exhibited Sadberge's loyalty in 1264. This loyalty of Sadberge has been proved in the Great War of 1914-1918. Many Sadbergians have died for their country, many bear wounds, and all have proved worthy successors to the Sadbergians of 1264.

In this list of Barons and Knights it may seem strange that no Earl of Sadberge appears, yet it must not be forgotten that from 1189 the Bishop of Durham was the Earl of Sadberge. However, in Hatfield's Survey appears *John de Sadberge* (page 74). Was this a title? It may indicate his connection with Sadberge as a landowner, yet he resided at Evenwood, though he held property elsewhere, "for Neweayn with messuage 1 and 12 acres, he pays the Bishop 10s. per annum, and 12s. for the 12 acres. He pays 6s. to the lord Bishop for land near the Park, he holds Selycroft 8 acres and pays 8s. per ann. Also Rowanland 12 acres and pays 8s. Also Mariot de Evenwood and pays 22d. per annum. Also two corn mills at Gateshead, one (aquatica) water, another ventriticum, he pays 22d. to the Bishop at the four terms and Modus, 8s. 4d." (page 89). He was evidently a wealthy person. Who he was is a mystery, yet he is described as *John de Sadberge.*

In early feudal times, titles independent of office did not exist. Earls, or Counts, were Officers, having, under the Crown, supreme authority in their Earldoms or Counties. William the Conqueror made the title hereditary, allotting his Earls, or Counts, the third penny out of the Sheriff's Court issuing out of all pleas of the Shire, hence the ancient name of Shiremen.

Now "De" is a French preposition prefixed to a surname, showing that its bearer is owner of estate or territory in the place indicated by the name. In mediæval documents, it is generally good evidence that either the person, or some ancestor, owned the lands from which the name is derived, and therefore we conclude "John de Sadberge" was a large

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landowner in Sadberge, Evenwood, and Gateshead, and perhaps Earl. Also Sadberge is found as a mere surname *twice* in the Survey, and is spelt differently, *e.g.*, "*John Sadbury* holds 1 messuage and 4 acres, and pays 2s. per annum." It is strange that in the 17th century it is thus spelt in the Sadberge Register. Again, "John Sadbergh holds 1 messuage and 100 acres, and pays 29s. 8d." This spelling is found in the 17th century Registers of Sadberge.

This Survey gives the 4 Wards of the County, and the Townships forming each Ward, *e.g.*, Darlington Ward includes 28 Townships. Cestra Ward includes 34 Townships. Easington Ward includes 16 Townships. Stockton includes 10, and the Wapontagium is described as embracing *Sadberge, Morton, Hertipole, Newbigging.* This is a limited area to that in Saxon times, when probably it embraced the Northern Saxon kingdom.

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CHAPTER XVI.

Sadberge and its Judiciary.

Probably in Saxon times the Wapontake of Sadberge was the fount and centre of military and civil administration. There existed no City of Durham, nor Courts of Assize, nor Palatinate.

The Norman Conquest changed civil and military administration, not quickly, but by degrees. "The *County* of Durham appears in the *Middle* Ages" (Lapsley). It may be that the ancient phrase "County" of Sadberge, as the "Jura Regalia" of the Palatinate grew, absorbed the older phrase "County of Sadberge" for the County of Durham, yet the ancient form was carefully preserved by summoning the County of Sadberge to the Assizes at Durham. Even now, although the Manor and Wapontake of Sadberge was annexed to the See in 1189, yet Pudsey chiefly directed his energies to military affairs, by erecting Northallerton Castle and strengthening the Castles at Durham and Norham. He did not forget ecclesiastical duties, for he built the College Church at Darlington and built a house there; still, there is no evidence of his acting as Judiciary, beyond giving his licence to the officers who administered the law. "Ancient Sadberge had its Judges and Sheriffs, who sat at its Courts, levied fines; Escheats taken on the decease of free tenants within the County and Wapontake, and here administered law and punished criminals" (Jno. Royston). "Antiquitus Comitatus (Court) fuit Sadberg et fuerunt vic et coronatores: ibid: et curia sui assizæ ten fuerunt coram Justice itinerant Ep or Dum ibid et turnus Vic (Sheriff's turn) fuit" (Roll Court).

"Sadberge was governed by the Bishop through district officers as Sheriffs, Escheators, Coroners, who, though holding office both for the County Palatinate and the Bishop, were appointed by distinct patents" (Surtees).

"It is difficult to fix the *exact* Jurisdiction of the Courts at Sadberge, but the following Vills and Manors are expressly stated to have owed service: Barnard Castle, Marwood,

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Cleatham, Egglestone, Langton, Middleton-in-Teesdale, Newbiggin, Stainton, and other places in the western extremity of the County" (Surtees). "Under the Bishop's *commission*, Judges itinerant held a Court of Assize at Sadberge, which appears to have been continued till at least the middle of the 15th century. At the time of Ludwy, the officers and inquests of the freeholders were taken at Sadberge, and their tenure of lands, by doing suit at the Wapontake of Sadberge, about 8 weeks to 8 weeks, and the said officers were taken before Nick de Sutton, Sheriff of Sadberge" (Mickleton). This Sadberge Court seems to have existed in 1661. (1) There is a letter dated 1661 in the Durham Court, that Chris and Francis Hall intended to prove the Will of Dorothy Pinchey in the Court at Sadberge. (2) The late Mr. R. H. Allan, Blackwell Grange, copied the following from the Court Register: "A licence was granted to Hy. Shaw, Yeoman, Darlington, by Bp. Cosin John, by providence of God, Bp. of Duresme, to all Justices of Peace, Sheriffs, Bailiffs, and other Officers of Duresma and Sadberge."

Courts. The Sadberge and Durham Courts acted *separately*. Distinct patents issued by the Bishop. Sadberge had its Sheriff, Escheator, Coroner, distinct from Durham, though the same person might hold the same office in both Courts. The Sheriff sat in the County Court. Sadberge Courts are earlier than the Durham Courts. "The *earliest* fines recorded in *Durham* are 1317-1333, but I have lying before me a fine levied at *Sadberge* in 1311, before the Bishop's Justices on the Morrow of Epiphany, January, 1311" (Surtees Chaytor Papers). He adds three cases decided in Bishop Hatfield's time, 1345-81, and one case in Bishop Neville's, on the Hill of Pleas, 1437.

When the last case was tried at Sadberge it is very difficult to decide, yet in 1437, "Sir Thos. Fulthorp, as Judge itinerant at Sadberge, reprimanded the Rector of Romald Kirk, in open Court, when cited before the Judge" (Surtees).

In Bishop Kellaw's time, 1311-16, his Registers show that the Courts of Sadberge and Durham were distinct. "No man who is taken in the franchise of Durham, for acts done in the same franchise, shall be imprisoned in the Wapontake of Sadberge, and no man taken for trespass in the Wapontake of Sadberge shall be imprisoned at Durham, a thing not allowed in the time of Bishop Kellaw" (Kellaw Registers, pages 42 and 63).

The Assizes at Sadberge were held up to the middle of the 15th century by Judges *itinerant*; Bishop Fulthorpe sat there in 1457.

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Malefactors condemned to death were executed on Gallows Hill, and the name now exists on the Ormesby Estate Plan.

Assizes. Greenwell, May 22nd, 1899, testifies that (1) The Assizes were held at *Sadberge* and *Durham.* (2) The Judge itinerant visited *both* places. Yet the two Courts were *distinct, e.g.:* "Walterius, son of Hugh de Cadanion, pays 12s. for secta curia (suit of court) at *Sadberge*, and shall be discharged of the said suit." "Robert de Cadanio renders 12s. for suit of court at *Durham*, and so is quit of the suit." Thus in 1300, the two courts were *distinct.* Also Kellaw Registers (page 68), 1228 A.D.: "Et que nulle homme qu'est pris dainez la franchise de Duresme per faite ea mesne la franchise soit emprisoné en la Wapontake de Sadberge, ne nulle homme pris pour trespass en la Wapontake soit en prison a Duresme: que ne est pas ore suffert en tempo c'est evesque."

Kellaw Register (page 68): "Et par la oce nul frank q'est pris en la franchise de Duresme per fece, fet en mesne la franchise, soit emprisoné en la Wapentak de Sadberge, ne nul homme pris por trespass fet en le Wapentak, soit emprisoné a Duresme, qu' n'est pas ore suffert: si voet per esge et grante, qe issent soit, hors pris ees qui sunt arestez pur trespass fet a ly."

"The Assizes were held in Sadberge until about 1457, when they were removed to Durham, as a convenience to persons visiting S. Cuthbert's Shrine" (Paper on Lanchester Roman Camp, Wooler). The Assizes, up to 16th and 17th century, were at Sadberge. To-day, when the Durham Assizes are summoned, the *County of Sadberge* is also summoned. A unique proof of its ancient history.

An incident at the last recorded Assize, 1457, at Sadberge: "Hy. Horn, of Lartington, sometime servant to Sir Mo. Eppilbye, late parson at Romaldkirk, records and witnessed that Sir Wm. Bowes the elder, grandson of Sir R. Bowes, prayed the said Sir John to come to Sadbergh on the Hyll, in the season, to witness before Sir Thos. Fulthorp, Justice itinerant, a feoffment. Sir Wm. affirms a statement was made by Hy. Hedlam and his attorney, Jack Godwyne, of certain lands in Stainton, whereas the said Hy. should have enfeoffee, the said parson and Sir Thos. Sonvall prests to the behove of Eliz., Henry's wife for life, and the parson was examd. whether he knew, he said he spake not with either Henry or Godwyne, but as Sir Thos. Sonvall sent hym word to come on to Stainton to take possession, in his name. Then the Judge asked hym, if these two at that tyme took lawful estate, the parson said yea, forsooth. The Judge put to him many questions, and the Judge found

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the land was unlawfully taken without any attorney from Sir Henry, whereupon the Judge gave the parson a foul rebuke, and bade him from henceforth he did not come to bear witness, lest he lose the good name he had gotten. The parson departed. The Judge, ashamed of the great rebuke, and said to his servant riding homeward, he would not have come there for xx pound."

Itinerant Justices. These were Justices on *Circuit.* They held the earliest provincial Courts of Assize. Their circuit generally held once in 7 years. Henry I appointed them for the King's Court, and they were finally established by Henry II, in 22nd year. Magna Charta restrained Assizes to their respective *Shires.* Previously, suitors had to *follow* the Judges. Itinerant Justices were superseded by *Circuit* Judges. Bishop Pudsey was a Royal Justice *in Eyre* (Foss Judges 1, 509). In Richard's reign, he was *Justiciar* for the northern half of the kingdom (Bened. Abbas 4, 107). In 1279, the Palatinate itinerant Justices were: Robert de Neville, Guiscard de Charron, Thos de Herington, Alan de Walkingham. (Lapsley.) In 1242, the following were Justices itinerant in the Palatinate: Robert Fitz *Mardrus*, Walter de *Merton* (he held a benefice conferred by the Bishop in 1256, he was Chancellor and Justice itinerant and member of the Bishops' Council, and in 1249 he was a Clerk in the Royal Chancery, and the King describes Walter "Noster et Vester" (Rd. *Duckett*); he sat at Westminster 1282-45, in 1242 Justice itinerant; Geoffrey de Lenickmore, Justice itinerant 1255, and also in Hunts., Northampton, Bucks.; John de Lumne's (Chancery Roll 1598). In 1271, Roger de Seaton, Wm. de Northborough, Geoffrey Russell were Justices itinerant in Palatinate. The body of Palatinate Justices was composed of several of the great officers, along with important personages in the Palatinate, and one or more of the King's Judges on *Circuit*, or from the bench at Westminster. Sir Thos. Fulthorpe sat at Sadberge 1457, and is the *last* itinerant Judge recorded as holding Assize at Sadberge. *Re* Henry Horn of Lartington. The Bishop of Durham summoned the Assize (1) at Durham; (2) Sadberge. The Judges were itinerant. If the same person held the same office at Durham and Sadberge, a *distinct* patent issued in *each* case.

County Court. "It was presided over by the Sheriff of Sadberge; causes were tried, fines levied, and the court existed till commencement of 17th century" (Surtees).

County Court was a very ancient institution, for separate County Courts were held in the Wapontake of Sadberge and Norhamshire (Lapsley, page 95). After the decadence of the

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general eyre in the Bishopric, suit at the great meetings of County Court frequently occurs as an incident of *tenure*.

After the 14th century, the bulk of the judicial business of County Court was transferred to the Assize and Quarter Session, though small civil suits heard in the older tribunals (Lapsley, p. 195). County Court chiefly survived for small civil suits, and conveying land by surrender.

In 1807 the return of County Court at Sadberge was £39 15s. 11d., and probably included the *farm* of the Wapontake. The earlier Judicial eyres had not included the Bishopric. Such business as was reserved in other counties for the King's Justices, in Durham, was transacted in the *Bishop's Court*.

In 1585, separate County Courts at Sadberge and Norhamshire existed. These were survivals of the *ancient* Wapentake.

Sadberge early had its County Court and its Sheriff. The earliest *recorded* case is 1611, under Bishop L. Beaumont. "Chris and Frances Hall proved the Will of Dorothy Pinckney, widow, at Sadbergh."

The *Sheriff* was Escheator for the Bishop, as lord of the manor, and his general representative.

A large portion of the revenue passed through his hands, *ex officio:* (1) the profits of jurisdiction; (2) he seized all lands and goods of felons and fugitives; (3) all fines imposed by Judges, he collected; (4) took charge of all waifs and strays; (5) aided in the collection of taxes; (6) the Bishop's Escheator executed all business arising from the Feudal relation of the Bishop; he executed writs, "Diem clausit extremis," and acted as the general representative of the Bishop as feudal lord" (Lapsley, p. 85).

By an ancient custom, the Sheriff of Sadberge and Durham in 1844 delivered the gaols of the two counties at each County Court (Registrum IV, 346).

Edward I reorganised the national forces, and the Sheriff had to give effect to the authorisation of those who gave commissions. He notified that the Bishop had issued commissions to array the fencible men, armed and equipped, *ad* Statute of Winchester. He arrested refractory people and guarded them. He managed the *Judiciary* of the Palatinate (its working), "presided over County Court meetings, great and ordinary, summoned men of the shire to meet the Justices when a general eyre was summoned, received all fees imposed by the Judges."

After the thirteenth century *sub*-Sheriffs and *sub*-Escheators appear.

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In the County Court, the Sheriff sat, tried causes, inflicted fines, took escheats on the decease of a free tenant, within the County and Wapentake of Sadberge.

The Bishop's revenues passed through his hands, and by virtue of his office he received all the profits of Jurisdiction :—

(*a*) seized lands and goods of felons and fugitives;

(*b*) received *fines* by Judges, on neglect of attending County Court;

(*c*) took charge of *waifs* and *strays*, deodands, and other sources of profit.

He rendered account to the Bishop's Exchequer.

In the fifteenth century, fines and amercements were paid *direct* to the Exchequer, not to Sheriff.

He carried out the claims of *collectors* of taxes, *sine* which they were unable to recover *ab* defaulters.

(*d*) He was the Bishop's *Escheator*, "executed *writs*, diem clausit extremum, attended to complaints (*a*) Wardship, (*b*) Marriage; was general representative of Bishop as *feudal lord*."

In 1344 *ad* ancient custom, the Sheriffs of Durham and Sadberge delivered the gaols at each County Court held by them.

Gaol. As to the existence of a Castle on Sadberge Hill in Roman times, opinions differ. In Saxon times it is very likely they assembled as a Wapontake, for military purposes, on Sadberge Hill.

With the advent of the Norman, it is equally certain that Courts of Justice administered law, and punished criminals there. The existence of Gallows Hill and its neighbour Black Bess, within one mile of Sadberge Hill, is surviving witness. We regret so little survives, yet such is the sad fact, and in one of the most historic places in the most historic See. Where law was administered and executed, a *Gaol* can with difficulty be found.

In Sadberge, the custody of the Gaol was attached to certain manors and persons in the Wapontake, *e.g.*, the owner of the Manor of Aislaby one-fourth custody of the Gaol; the Manor of Neasham had one-fifth custody; the Manor of Hurworth one-eighth.

Also, certain lands owed service to the Gaol, *e.g.*, "An inquest during Bishop Hatfield, thus finds Baron de Graystock, Priorissa de Neasham, Robert de Ogle, Walterus Tayboys; Isabella, wife of John Percy of Kildale, Johannes de Aislaby, Heres Alex Surteys et *alio custodes* gaol et prison ibid, et redd pro evasione si accideret prisoner ibid"; and therefore a Gaol existed.

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It is recorded that Wolsey, when Bishop of Durham, repaired Sadberge Gaol, 1523-9. "In villa de Sadberge, fuit olim Gaola, et prison quam Thos. Card Epis, reparavit" (Mickleton).

We know it existed in 1597: "Jan. 22. Richard Clayton of Corsdale, Gant, leaves to Thomas Wycliffe, now a prisoner in Sadberge Gaol, one silver spoon." Probably Wycliffe was a Recusant.

In *John Royston* (page 223) there is a description of the Gaol in Elizabeth's reign:—

"The Bishop of Durham had appointed a rascally nephew, called Luke Hulton, to be *Gaoler* and Bailiff of Sadberge. You may imagine what sort of man he was, when he had to fly the country for highway robbery. The gaol was a half-ruinous building, and though good enough to keep the prisoners in, was not good enough to keep the weather out, but far worse than the old building was the dungeon *underneath;* it was a filthy vault, with neither light nor air, and such that a week's confinement in it meant death or a grievous malady. This dungeon served Hulton's purpose, for he used to put new captives in it, until they could be brought to compound at his desire for a removal to the upper room, where he and his wife submitted them to every species of extortion. Almost all these were (Roman) Catholics, who refused to take the Oath to Elizabeth, and whom he hunted up, as it was greatly to his profit to keep the prison full."

"I was often at Sadberge, with the help of Mr. Conyer (Sockburn), and Luke Hulton was always glad to see me, for he knew the greater part of what I had brought would sooner or later find its way into his pockets; thousands of Catholics were imprisoned not for heresy, but simply because in obedience to the Pope, they would *not go to Ch.* For this recusance, the Catholic gentry compounded by heavy fines £20 a month, middle-class people by 12d. a wk., but to labourers it meant *prison.*" (*John Royston*, page 222.)

The Rev. W. G. Wrightson, when searching a MS. in the possession of Lord Middleton, a Roman Catholic family in Wharfedale, found a record of a recusant being imprisoned in a horrid dungeon at Sadberge—a lady relative—who was imprisoned there and gave birth to a child in the dungeon, and both mother and child died. The name of Middleton frequently occurs in the old Registers, and she was probably one of this family.

"There was a *Gaol* at Sadberge for prisoners, and sundry manors and landowners were held by the special service

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of maintaining the same, and supporting the prisoners" (Surtees).

"Many of the free tenants of the manor had to provide for the safe custody of the Gaol, and to answer for the escape of prisoners; lands were held by (1) Knight's service, (2) Suit of Court every three weeks, (3) keeping the Gaol" (Mickleton).

In the list of the *Bailiffs* of Sadberge in 1550, there is an entry which probably locates the site of Sadberge Gaol: "John Bukke, senescallus: epis, custos, manerii et Gaoli, cum gardinis, et pomarcus 29 Mart 20 Tunstall 1550." This description gives us a clue to the site of the ancient Gaol.

On the east side of Sadberge there is a group of buildings now occupied as four cottages, but they could easily form one block, and they probably were used as Courts of Justice, for Assize, and at the north end is a building, now occupied by a butcher, opposite the "Three Tuns Inn"; and there is a large garden adjoining, though the apples and pears, like other good ancients, have disappeared. The walls of this building are three feet thick, of solid masonry, and in the back part used as a stable; level with the front floor is an archway, with a *stone lintel*. Probably steps lead to this door, though now buried, and the floor is level, yet the top floor, if sounded, seems hollow underneath, and I think that here is the Gaol and dungeon of which Bukke in 1550 was Bailiff, and here is the site of the dungeon where Recusants in Elizabeth's day were confined. It is more than probable, that excavations in this building would confirm the opinion that here is the site of Sadberge Gaol and its hideous dungeon.

Coroners. In the Kingdom of England, the Coroner was elected, and this is the general rule. In *Manors* having a Coroner, he was elected by the *lord* of the manor.

The Bishop of Durham had a Coroner at *Sadberge*, Bedlington, and Norham, from very early times. From the fourteenth century, the Palatinate Coroners were elected by the Bishop. The Coroner took an oath, before the Chancellors, in the Exchequer, to serve the Bishop loyally, and to account for the discharge of his office. He was allowed to appoint deputies, and their oppressions led to complaints as early as 1301. The Coroner's fee was levied on the Vills of the Palatinate in thraves of corn.

The earliest notice of "*Durham*" Coroner is 1293.

In an inspeximus of part of the Assize Roll of *Sadberge* 1279: "Isti fuerunt coronatores post ultimam iter scilicet."

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Unfortunately the scribe did not think it worth while to record their names. (Lapsley, page 86.)

In 1279, John Forwarder, of Dunkirk, killed Elias Polson, a Flemish fisherman, in the streets of Hartlepool. John fled to another country.

A *general eyre* was held at Sadberge, and laid a fine upon the Borough of Hartlepool (Lapsley, page 252).

In 1279, a *general eyre* held at Sadberge, and the Borough of Hartlepool, appeared by 12 burgesses, and presented that Alicia de Lincoln took sanctuary at the Church of St. Hilda, in Hartlepool, and there confessed herself a thief, and abjured the realm before the Coroner, and that the Bishop had her chattels to the amount of 11s. 6½d. Probably the Justices dealt with the erring Alicia.

The earliest notice of Coroners is 1279, but Palatinate Coroners were *earlier*.

" In 1298 the Jury summoned ' quo warranto ' proceedings. The Bishop had a Coroner in every Ward of Durham, and one at Norham, Bedlington, and Sadberge " (Plac. Quo War. 604).

Coroners in Durham were appointed by Bishop.
" took oath to Bishop to serve *faithfully*.
" allowed deputies, which led to complaints in 1301.
" fees levied on the Vills of the Palatinate in the shape of thraves of corn.

" It is ordered and decreed by Rt. Hyndon (Clerke), Chauncellor of the County Palatyne of Durhamm, that the tenants and inhabitants of Witharne, yearly from henceforth, pay the Coroner, or his deputie, therefor the tyme being, his corn in shayfe, according as it haithe been accustomed in tymes past: unless that they can otherwise agree with the said Coroner " (Rolls, I Tunstall an 2 Ed. IV).

Manor Court was the meeting-place of the lord and his vassals. It settled *all* questions between them. Its *President* was the *lord's* steward. Its Bailiff was the lord's representative and public prosecutor. The President settled all procedure, and carried out the decrees of the Court. The tenants, present at the Court, gave judgment. Attendance at the Court was *compulsory*. Absence from the Court was punished by a fine. The jurisdiction of the Court was (1) Manorial; (2) Criminal; (3) Civil.

Eyre. As in 1279, 12 Burgesses of Hartlepool appeared at a *general Eyre* at Sadberge; we may say that it was a kind of general Assize, which, in time, yielded to the Sessions of Justices, who sat under a special commission.

The general eyre of the Palatinate was first held in the Bishopric, and was followed by an eyre in outlying districts.

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The King freely admitted the Bishop's right to hold pleas by his own warrant, before his own Justices. We first read of Justices of Assize in 1304. Soon after: "Commission of Assize, gaol delivery, oyer and terminer," become common.

As late as 1349, the people petitioned the Bishop *not* to hold a *general* eyre, which had been proclaimed. It was the custom, when the Bishop's Justices met the Judges itinerant, to assert the Bishop's immunity Jura Regalia, and they asked for "Articles of the Eyre," and they sought leave for the Bishop to issue a similar commission within his province. This formal act of submission Bishop Beke declined to make.

It is remarkable that Beke's Charter, made in 1308, consisted of twenty-two sections, which had the King's approval; section seven read: "For purposes of arrest and imprisonment, the Wapontake of Sadberge is to be regarded as a Venue *distinct* from the rest of the Palatinate, except in cases of trespass against the Bishop."

This friction between the Courts led to *Le Convenit.* The Prior of Durham's Court and the Bishop's Court disagreed, and in 1229, a *modus vivendi* was arranged. The Judiciary of the Palatinate was (1) a staff of Justices holding *general* eyres; (2) all free men of the land, and the Prior, Reeve, and four men from every Vill, shall come to the Sessions of the Justices.

Thus arose the supremacy of the Bishop's Courts.

List of Bailiffs of Sadberge.

Henry Pillock	24 Hatf. (1378).
Richard de Whitby	2 Langley (1408).
William Paulle	21 Langley (1427).
John Paulle	10 Neville (1448).
Reginald Newton	Serviens Episcopi 4 Dec. 11 Nevill
John Paulle	15 Nevill (1453). (1449).
Seth Gyllowe	2 Ed. 4.
Benjamin Worsley	Ballir et Receptor Wapentag Sadberge 12 Dec. 14 Booth (1471).
Henty Sale	22 June 19 Booth (1476).
Richard Bukke	et Clericus Mericatus, Ruthall (1509).
Richard Milner	26 Henry VIII.
Richard Barrell	12 Tunstall (1542).
John Bukke	Senescallus Epis. Custos Manerii et Gaoli cum gardinis et pomarius 29 Mart. 20 Tunstall (1550).
John Addye	9 W. James (1617).

(James had been Dean of Durham, and was made Bishop 1606. He died in 1617, and was buried near entrance to the Choir in Cathedral.)

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Prepositus. Probably a Bailiff or Steward of a Vill or Manor. In equity and right he acted between the lord and the Villain, or tenant.

In the Bolden Buke he is the equivalent of our modern Provost, or English Mayor.

In the Borough Court, perhaps, it applied to the Bishop.

Ellis, in preface to Doomsday Book, describes him as a Bailiff or Steward of a Vill or Manor.

He collected the manorial rents and levied distress, or prevented distress, performed all the offices of equity and right between the lord and his tenants. In Bolden Buke, he ranked with the Formarius, but he did not pay, nor work as the Villanus. The Borough Court was the only Court in which Burgages could be sued, and here it might be used of the Bishop when he held a Borough Court.

See Chapter VII on Præpositus.
,, Pinderus.

Reeves. The chief Magistrate of a district, ancestor of *Sheriff, Shire, Reeve.*

The laws of Edward the Confessor: "Multiplex nomen greve eum dicitur de sciva de Wapentagiis, de hundred: de burgis; de villis Anglo-Saxon Chron. 'High Reves.'"

The tun reeve or reeve of the township, with four others, represent the township in the Courts of the hundred. Manor reeves were elected by the Villeins, *i.e.*, to see that the Villeins cultivated their land satisfactorily.

Hundred Rolls. Edward I, 1272, ordered them on his return from the Crusades.

They made *inquisitions*, by special commissions and evidence being given on oath in each hundred or manor.

These Rolls in 2 vol. pub. 1812-15, by Record Comm. They are arranged in *comities* and are reliable.

Pipe Rolls. When the Bishopric was in the King's hands, they give the income of the See.

Manor Court Rolls. These are most valuable. They are the annual record of the transactions of the Court Baron, or Court Leet, which every Manor usually kept.

In 1133 the See was vacant five years. Henry seized the revenues, and these Court Rolls give an account of the income of the See, *prior* to Pudsey. They also record local *surrenders*, grants of tenancy, encroachments, and enclosures. Often in custody of lord of Manor, and of old firms of solicitors. They contained :—

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(1) The assembly is termed Court Leet: great leet, Court baron, court leet of view of frank pledge (together with the occasional use of the latinised equivalent). It was presided over by the *Steward* of the lord.
(2) Court usually held in April and October.
(3) Number of Jury 13, sworn from the freemen of the Manor.
(4) They annually presented for the Court's approval:
    2 names as field reeves.
    2 „ „ pinners of stray cattle (Pinderus).
    1 „ „ Parish Constable.
(5) The Jury made pains, or penalty, making bye-laws almost every Court day.
(6) Presentments:—
    (*a*) Fines for fences left open, 1s. to 10s.
    (*b*) Breaking hedges, 3d. to 1s.
    (*c*) Tending beasts in the fallow, when the offender had no pasture rights, 1s.
    (*d*) Tending or tethering horses on commons, when no rights, 1s.
    (*e*) Encroaching on highways, 6d.
    (*f*) Not scouring out ditches and watercourses, 6d. to 10s.
    (*g*) Cattle straying at night, 10s.

The Pinderus had to see the penfolds were repaired in *early* spring.

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CHAPTER XVII.

Extracts from the Bolden Buke, 1183.

Grindon. "10 Villans of Grindon, 21s. farm rent, and work the entire year each with 1 man, 2 days every week, plough and harrow, for each ploughland 1 acre, and render at Xmas, each one, 2 hens, and at Easter 20 eggs, and shall make cart loads and horse journeys, when the Bishop shall be in the country."

"Walter de Roth holds Grindon, which the Bishop bought and gave him for his services, he renders 2 Bizants per ann. and is quit of all other services."

A Bizant was an Eastern coin value probably 2s. Grindon is about five miles east of Sadberge, and its old Church is derelict, and very neglected. The new Church at Thorpe Thewles has supplanted both Grindon Church and Parish.

This record of the Bolden Buke explains why the patronage belongs to the Marquis of Londonderry. The old Church has links with modern Sadberge. In 1829, David Piper was ordained Deacon in Grindon Church by Bishop Van Mildert, the last Prince Palatine, and licensed as Curate at Grindon; the late Mr. Squire, of Catterick, was present at the Ordination. This family resided at Bishopton, three miles from Sadberge. In 1831 Mr. Piper became *Minister* at Sadberge, then a Bishop's peculiar, and received £80 per annum. In 1862 he was nominated to the Incumbency, and was so overjoyed that he took a holiday at Boulogne, and in two months died there, and was buried in France. He never was inducted, merely nominated, and, in a legal sense, was only Curate at Sadberge. Thus modern Sadberge has its links with the Grindon of 1183.

Rikenhall. This place is mentioned (1) in the Bolden Buke, 1183, (2) in Hatfield Registers, about 1380.

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(1) Bolden Buke: "In nova Rikenhall sunt XI Villani quorum uniusquisque tenet I bovatum de IX acres et operantur a festo sancto Petri ad Vincula usque ad festum sancti Martini diebus in Ebdomada (draining) diebus in Ebdomada et faciunt IV precationes (journeys) in Autumno prio et reddit unisquisque gallonas et XXX ova."

"In the new Rikenhall are 11 Villans, each holds 1 oxgang of 9 acres, and they work from St. Peter's at the Chains to the Feast of St. Martin, 3 days in each week, and from the Feast of St. Martin to the Feast of St. Peter, 2 days in the week, and they make 4 precationes in the autumn, and each one renders 2 hens, and 30 eggs."

(2) Bishop Hatfield's Registers. Here we have *Villa de Rikenhall:* "Wm. Tedy de Ocly holds *totam villam*, and with all pertaining, and with the works (operibus), and in addition ad Firmam (a fixed rent) pays at the 4 terms 100s. 6d. The acreage is about 27 acres. John of Loge holds Grangia ibidem (Granary) at a fixed rent, with the lord's grass and meadow lands, 4 ploughs, 8 oxgangs, 20 acres, and at the term pays £20."

There is also this strange entry: "The Prior of Durham is a free tenant for the sake of the corn mill at Rikenhall, and pays 12d. per ann."

We would suggest "Nova Rikenhall," mentioned in Bolden, is *distinct* from the Rikenhall of Hatfield's Survey. There is nearly 200 years between the two records. The Rikenhall in Hatfield is in "*Darlington* Ward," and it returns for quarter year £15 9s. 0½d., including arrears of £12 6s. 1½d. The bailiff's return is £29 18s. 3d. The Vill has several tenants who pay 12d., 2s. 6d., 3s., 6s. 8d., 15s. 8d. They also provide hens and eggs for the Bishop.

Now at Aycliffe there is "Ricknall" Mill, a water mill on the Skerne, probably the ancient Rikenhall of Hatfield's Register. The *Nova* Rikenhall of Bolden Buke had 11 Villans each farming 9 acres, for which they render service to the Bishop; they also had a *Governor*, *e.g.*, "et de exitu Stephani *prepositus* de Rikenhall, forisfactur coram Marscella Domine Regis in curia (court) of Episcopi, and he pays £9 on resigning office." Also, "Robert prepositio de Rikenhall de exitu manerii de Rikenhall per tallia tradita." Now this prepositus paid £18 on resigning office, and Rikenhall is described as a Manor.

In the preface to Doomsday Book Ellis describes *Prepositus* as a Bailiff or Steward of a Vill or Manor, who collected rents, levied distress, and prevented them, and

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discharged the offices of equity between the lord and his tenants, and he ranked with Firmarius, but did not work for pay, as a Villanus. In Doomsday and Bolden Buke, he would rank with our modern Provost or English Mayor.

Where can we find *Nova* Rikenhall as described in 1183?

Rychnall Grange is near Stainton-le-Street, and there is a Ricknall Grange close to Preston-le-Skerne, nearly opposite the north side of the river, which stands on a hill, and it formed part of the Bishop's leaseholds. We suggest that Nova Rikenhall is the modern *Killinghall*, Middleton St. George. The Roman road from Pountey's Bridge was called Ryckneild Street, and ran directly north, through Sadberge; this manor might appropriately be called *Nova*, for it was very near the old Rykneild Street, and we are inclined to locate Nova Rikenhall thus, from a paragraph in Hutchinson's History (volume III, page 172):—

Killinghall. "Nether Middleton in Bishop Bury's time (1333) was the estate of the family of Cambe, who held in capite by homage, and fealty, and *suit at Sadberge.* In the eleventh year of Bishop Langley (1417), John de Killinghall died seized of the Manor of Nether Middleton. This Middleton continued in the estate of Killinghall till the extinction of the male line by the death of John Killinghall in 1762, who devised the same to his cousin, William Pemberton, who left two sons; and William the second son in 1789 was Coroner."

Note this Killinghall was in the Wapontake of Sadberge. The cradle of the Killinghalls was Ripley Castle, and we have before noted that Henry Clericus, of Ripley Castle, had a *Placeam* at Sadberge. In 1366 there was a Thomas Killinghall at Oxford, at the expense of the Church at Durham, and this is the time of Bishop Hatfield's Episcopate. In Doomsday it is called *Chenehall*, which means the nook of Chille; the Scots laid it waste in 1318. The Killinghall estate led to a remarkable suit at Durham Assizes in 1806.

William Pemberton was the owner in 1789, when he inherited (although the second son) from his father. Now William Pemberton, the grandson of Elizabeth, the aunt of John Killinghall of Devisee (1762-78), married Winifred Cocks, of Plymouth, and his son and heir, William Pemberton (1778-1801), devised the Manor of Middleton St. George to his maternal aunts, to the prejudice of his cousin, and heir-at-law, George Allan, M.P. for Durham City, who brought an action to invalidate the will, but

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the verdict confirmed the will, and the Killinghall estates —the Nova Rikenhall of Bolden Buke—passed to the family of Cocks, together with the family residence at Nether Middleton.

It was an ancestor of the Killinghalls who, as a Recusant, was imprisoned in the gaol at Sadberge, and died in its underground dungeon.

Thus Nova Rikenhall, of 1183, had its links with the Manor and Wapontake of Sadberge in the days of Queen Elizabeth.

Killinghall adjoins the ancient Roman road Rykneild Street, and might appropriately be called "Nova Rikenhall," and was held by homage, fealty, and suit at the Wapontake of Sadberge.

In the Burgess list of the Wapontake of Sadberge in 1380 appears the following entry: "John Kylinghall holds 1 messagium, et 60 acres, and pays 8s. 8d., and renders the customary services."

This proves the family held land in the Wapontake of Sadberge and rendered *military* service to the Bishop.

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SUPPLEMENT

TO

CHAPTER XVII ON BOLDEN BUKE.

Garmondsway. This is an ancient family, for generations linked with the Manor and Wapontake, and, at a later period, resided at Sadberge.

Camden (volume I, page 103) on Garmondsway: "King Alfred and Guthrum the Dane,* whom he made Governor of Northumberland, afterwards, to use the words of an old book, gave all the country between the river Were and Tine to Cuthbert and the Ministers of his Church for ever, for their maintenance, that they might never want. They also ordained that his Church should be a safe refuge to all that fled to it, that whosoever for whatever cause fled to his body should have peace for 37 days, without any pretence to the contrary. King Edward and Athelstane and Canute or Cnute the Dane—which last came barefoot to S. Cuthbert's shrine†—not only confirmed but augmented those laws and privileges; nor was less favour shown by William the Norman, from whose time it was declared a County Palatine."

The Way of the Garmunds is supposed to be between Trimdon and the City of Durham. In *The Seats of England* (volume I, page 46) there is a strange account of how Bishop Pudsey became possessed of the seat of the Garmonds: "Hugh de Pudsey obtained the entire village of Garmondsway from Ralph de Garmondsway, lord thereof, promising to defray the whole expense of the wager of battle, in which de Garmondsway had been engaged, and to make him comfortable for the term of his natural life by allowing him (the said Sir Ralph) 64 marks a year, thus obtaining for his Zenodochinum at Sherburn the entire village of Garmondsway." There is every reason to believe that the unscrupulous prelate brought the impoverished de Garmondsway to Sadberge, his Palatinate town, where they appear to have obtained an estate amongst many leading families (per Surtees, volume III, page 268).

*"Alfred and Guthrum, whom our historians call also Guthred, Cuthred, Goring, Garmund, seem to have divided between them the whole kingdom, and to have enacted laws jointly to be observed by the English and Danes" (Camden).

Guthrum was the son of Hardicanute, King of Lethra, in Sweden. In 803 he was sold as a slave in Northumbria. His lineage was known to Dane and Saxon. Bishop Eadred (Lindisfarne), acting on a dream (S. Cuthbert having appeared to him), proceeded to the Danes and persuaded them to accept Guthrum as King. They accepted him as King to Dane and Saxon.

Tymen of Durham, in gratitude, gave the Church of St. Cuthbert all the lands between "inter duo flumina Tinam et Teis," which formed the main part of St. Cuthbert's patrimony. "This gift Alfred confirmed" (*Encycl. Britt.*, vol. viii, page 707).

†"From a place called Garmondsway, five miles from Durham" (Camden).

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The gage of battle mentioned in the above extracts appears to have been a contest between Ralph de Garmondsway and two others, for the disputed land.

According to Camden, Gormand the Dane gave the name Garmondsway. Alfred the Great made Gormand Governor of Northumbria, and after overthrowing the Danes in the south, avoided a conflict in Danelagh (ancient Northumbria) by making their chief, Guthred, or Gormand, his colleague in the government of the north; and, according to Camden, Alfred arranged with Guthred the Dane to confer all lands between the Tyne and Wear to the Church.

The Bolden Buke (1183) thus describes Garmondsway: "In Garmondesweya sunt V bovatæ quae fuerunt Radulph Haget, quas episcopus habet de sua escarta, et reddunt 16s. 8d., et X Hens et C ova (100 eggs). Et ibidem, habet Episcopus IV bovatas, de emptione sua, quæ jacenta vasta;" *i.e.*, escarta means *confiscated* by Bishop.

Perhaps this extract is linked with the previous story. Escheat dissolved the mutual bond between lord and tenants, either from lack of heirs, treason or felony, and then the lands reverted back to the lord.

The link of the Garmondsway family with Sadberge is undoubted. In 1575 Richard Garmondsway held three burgages, and one oxgang of land in *Sadberge*. In the centre of the old Norman churchyard there is a flat tombstone, inscribed with the names of members of the Garmondsway family, amongst whom is Richard Garmondsway. He was warden and overseer in 1748, and signs the parish accounts as overseer.

In August, 1892, the members of the Garmondsway family inserted a three-light window, at the east end of the Church, by Hemming. It is named the Garmondsway window. It was dedicated August 14th, 1892; and the representative of the family is Sir Thos. Wrightson, Bart., Neasham Hall.

Names on gravestone in Sadberge churchyard, *Norman* part:—
"Richard Garmondsway, died Apr. 7th, 1764, aged 73;
Hannah Garmondsway, died Oct. 8th, 1762, aged 66."
The east window bears the following inscription:
"To the Glory of God and in memory of the Garmondsway family."

Placeam. This word frequently occurs in Bolden Buke and in Hatfield's Survey; it also occurs in the Terra Scoccarii, *i.e.*, Exchequer lands, and was a common term in the twelfth to fourteenth centuries, and in the Wapontake of Sadberge it frequently occurs, and this peculiar entry appears: "Vicarius Ecclesiæ de Derlingtomæ holds a *Placeam* formerly held by Peter Norandyne red. 8d.; he also holds 1 placeam formerly held by Galfride Lorimer and pays 4s." It was probably a piece of ground selected by a person from the Vas or uncultivated land, with the approval of the lord of the manor, and for which an acknowledgment was paid.

It occurs three times in the list of old Burgesses in the Wapontake of Sadberge, and in the list of new Burgesses there are nine examples; and in *Darlington* are eight placeams, and are linked with Vastam, *e.g.*:—

"Thomas Smythe holds 1 placeam Vastam ante ostium and pays 4 per ann." In this case it was in front of his door.

"John Morley built 1 house on the waste land of the lord and no one fined him; he also enclosed a parcellum of land for his own

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tenure from the Vas and no one fined him." The Survey significantly adds: "These three parcels lay adjacent to the Vas, and are subject to modus, and they are outside their tenancies; the matter has been brought before the notice of the lord *ad inquirandum*."

The Sadberge tenants gave *names* to their placeams, *e.g.*, Nicholas Coyall 1 Placeam called *Pokkersplace*, 1 acre of land called Wormesland subject to the usual services and pays 2s. 4d. per annum. William Cudper 1 Placeam called *Fryggesplace* subject to the usual services and pays 12d. per ann. Robert Pateson 1 placeam *Beata Maria*, subject to the usual services and pays 6d. per ann. Sacrista Dunelm holds placeam called *Laudam Dei* and pays at the Feast of S. Cuthbert in September 2s.* Could this be an *oratory* in 1183?

Those who held a placeam from the Exchequer lands had *work* attached to their holding, *e.g.*, Johannes Teesdale holds 1 placeam de bond and renders *work* and pays 18d. per ann. Wm. Stella holds 1 placeam de bond and renders *work* and pays 4d. per ann. Helena Sparrow holds 1 placeam de bond and returns work as others ½d. and 1 Gallinam.

Attendance at Sadberge Court is a condition of two, in Sedgefield, *e.g.*, Thos. Grey holds 2 *placeas vastas*, 4 bovatæ, 60 acres held on homage, attendance at Court (Assizes) et fidelitatem and pays 3s. 4d. per ann.

Placeam runs all through the Wapontake: there were fifteen in Wolsingham, also fifteen in Ryhope; in Newbiggen, near Sadberge, Wm. of Heighington holds 1 placeam in *Mora* with rights of pasturage and turf; and a person at Heredwyk (Hardwick, near Sedgefield) held six placeams, *e.g.*, Roger, son of Alan of Vulthorp, holds 2 placeams within his messuage, and pays 2d. per ann., 1 placeam and 2 bovatæ and pays 6d., 1 and 2 oxgangs and pays at Feast of S. Cuthbert 23½d., 1 placeam and pays at S. Martin 10d. per ann., 1 and pays at Feast of S. Cuthbert in September 10d.; whereas ab Bishop Middleham John Blackburn holds 1 placeam, on which he has built a house called Swynestly, and pays 2d. per ann.; whereas John Henley, for a certain placeam terræ called *Oveheard*, he pays 14s. 6d. at Feast of S. Michael.

Evidently "placeam" was held all through the Wapontake and Manor in the twelfth century, and varied in size, and held on various conditions; some entailed labour or work for the privilege, besides money payment. John Loga held 1 placeam of *grass*; Adam Povin holds 1 placeam from the Waste Lands, containing 20 ft. x 20 ft., and pays 2d. per ann.; whilst Rt. Rondlok holds 1 placeam called *Stotfield*, containing X acres of land and pays 2d.

A placeam was a common tenancy in the twelfth century, varying in extent, and held on various conditions. We will take Sadberge as illustrating the origin of such tenancies, which in the twelfth century were called "*Placeam*." The Roman street, which ran through the centre of the camp, was not less than 220 feet in width, yet it has been encroached upon all through the village; and in the centre of the present village are two houses facing south, which are a kind of "placeam," in the centre of the Roman street. Further north, the entire row of houses on the *north* as far as the joiner's shop, has been erected on the street, and practically marks the site of the placeams of the twelfth century; while the gardens attached to these

* The Durham College of Priests.

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houses, and the chapel, are encroachments on the Roman street, and the enclosed field north of the joiner's shop is part of the Roman street. On the east side it is the same—houses, and buildings, and gardens are encroachments on the original street; and that these modern placeams have been allowed by those in authority, acting for the lord of the manor, is evident, for about £25 a year is received by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners as Bishop's Rents, in Sadberge itself, on the same principle as the annual payment recorded in the Bolden Buke of 1183, for a placeam.

This ancient practice of selecting a *placeam* from the uncultivated land of the lord of the manor, has illustrations around and near Sadberge: (1) Within the present parish, not a mile from the village, on the west side, is an illustration. Someone selected a place as a *placeam*, narrowed the highway to Darlington, and paid nothing, but, in time, they sold the piece of land they had selected, and during the time I was Rector—1887-1911—a good house and greenhouse were erected, and now it is the residence of a market-gardener—a "placeam" of old times, without payment. (2) We give an illustration at Middleton-One-Row: On the Killinghall estate, which the family of Cocks inherited, some one erected a "placeam;" the field was building land, yet this placeam prevented its use, as it was a wedge in the centre of the road frontage. When the Cocks estate was realised, the Rev. C. Jackson gave £20 for this squat, in order to secure a site for a Rectory, and an exchange was made between the owner of the squat and the Rev. G. W. Wrightson, and thus a site was secured for the Rectory for Middleton St. George, by purchasing and abolishing this placeam. Generally, a placeam was erected on uncultivated land, belonging to the lord, the *Vastum:* it to be appruatum (cultivated); and a significant entry is: "The aforesaid tenants, on condition that they do not extend their land or tenements, pay 5s. 7½d. per ann."

At Whessoe there is an entry which shows a placeam was a kind of modern squat, *e.g.*, "John Shepherd holds 1 placeam Vasto (on the waste), a concession granted him for improvement of his tenement, and for which he pays 6d. per ann."

In Wolsingham the following entry shows how wide was the practice: "Wm. Poyte holds 1 placeam de vasto, containing 80 ft. x 22 ft., and pays 4d. per ann."

The Glossary thus describes *Vastum:* "The waste tract of unappropriated and unenclosed land, the sole property of the lord, upon whom asserts were made, and by whom they were approved (appruatus)."

Punderus. This officer is frequently mentioned in the Bolden Buke. He was the *Pounder, i.e.*, the person who had charge of the *pound*, and at a later date called *Pinfold*. All stray cattle he placed in the pound, and their owners had to pay all damages they had done, and to pay for their keep, and the expenses incurred.

In the Bolden Buke he was an officer representing the lord of the manor. He received remuneration from the Bishop, as lord of the manor, and the tenants paid so many thraves of corn per plough.

From the Redditus Sadberge cum Wapontake in the Bolden Buke (1183), Sadberge had its *Punderus*, who held twelve acres of land, and thus was a small farmer, and he rendered to the lord of Sadberge 80 hens and 400 eggs at stated periods; he was an officer of the lord of the manor, and in Sadberge held a grant of land, and probably at other places in the manor, whilst the tenants paid him so many

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thraves of corn for each plough, whilst it appears that through the entire manor the Punderus rendered poultry and eggs in large numbers to the lord. In Bolden Buke, at Heighington, he held 6 acres of land, and received 24 thraves of corn, and he returned 31 hens and 500 eggs to the lord; whilst at Wolsingham he held 6 acres and received 8 thraves of corn, and rendered 40 hens and 400 eggs to the lord. At Darlington he held 11 acres, 24 sheaves of corn, and returned 100 gallinus et hens and 500 eggs to the lord, at the Feast of the Nativity, at Easter.

The office was ancient, and in some places the Pound survives, but Sadberge was a *County* Pinfold and not that of a Vill, yet, like most of its antiquities, its County Pinfold has disappeared.

The Bolden Buke records that at Whessoe, near Darlington, the people paid 10s. to be exempt from the Punderus. This may be explained by the fact that it was the duty of the Punderus to look after the *common* pasturage of a village, and to impound all stray cattle in the Pinfold, and these residents at Whessoe desired to do as they liked, and paid 10s. per annum for the privilege to secure cheap grazing. The Punderus at Stockton paid the lord 80 hens at Christmas, and 500 eggs at Christmas, and had *ex officio* 2 *placeas* of grass—Mirreshead and Wybbesgar—and the Parkside looking south, containing 1 acre and a small plot and a road or path leading to Preston-on-Tees. A profitable office to be Punderus at Stockton!

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PART II.

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INTRODUCTION

TO

PART II.

THE preparation of Part I has been somewhat difficult, from the fact that, so far as we know, there exists no History of Sadberge, of any kind.

Any person wishing to study the history of Durham County can consult two recognised authorities, in the works of Surtees and Hutchinson.

This is the more remarkable because Sadberge was the centre of Roman military power, and also of the Saxon Wapontake, the extent of which we have never been able to discover; and the Normans also made it a Manor. Considering these historic facts, it is remarkable that the city of Durham—so much later than Sadberge—possesses two standard histories; and, as far as we know, nothing exists to record the past of Sadberge, perhaps one of the earliest centres in the county of Durham for military and civil authority.

W. L. T.

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CHAPTER I.

What led to the Decay of Sadberge.

During the Roman occupation and the Saxon invasion, for centuries Sadberge was the centre of military power and civil administration in the north. Its ancient rights and privileges were so jealously guarded, that centuries later, Richard I, when he granted a charter, inserted this clause, "excepting Sadberge"—probably on account of its military position.*

This reservation clause was natural, for the martial Roman had made it a military centre and his camp on Rynkneild Street; and the Saxon followed the example of his predecessor. He made it the centre of his Wapontake; here they touched the weapon and swore fealty; here the wily Norman made it a *Manor;* hence, considering its past military importance, no wonder that the English king reserved his military rights in Sadberge.

Probably in his reign Sadberge attained its acme, and when he sold its Wapontake and Manor to Bishop Pudsey, and made the Bishop Earl of Sadberge, he unwittingly conveyed large revenues to the See.

What a contrast there is in this twentieth century and the Sadberge of the twelfth century!

Now, few persons outside the county of Durham know that there exists such a place, and fewer still know its ancient history, and many have no desire to know.

Yet this insignificant place was anciently a County, and in the twentieth century so it remains, and so it was long before the city of Durham existed.

We quote as evidence from Lapsley's *Palatinate of Durham*:—"The County of Durham dates only from the Middle Ages."

* *Encl. Britt.*, p. 708, vol. viii.

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Though now no longer a military centre, when the assizes are summoned at Durham the County of Sadberge is also summoned, although it has long ceased to be an assize town.

Outside the county of Durham many confound it with *Sedbergh*, in the North Riding of Yorkshire—a letter only serves as a distinction between the two places, though probably Sadberge was anciently written Sacbeorge or Socberge, the hill where the Saxon swore fealty and paid Sac or Soc.

The two places are widely apart, Sedbergh being on the borders of Westmoreland; whereas historic Sadberge is in the south-east corner of the county of Durham, and within three miles of the county of York; the two places have no connection, probably owing to their geographical position.

The question arises, How is it that historic Sadberge is now an obscure village?

Its situation for military purposes ought to have prevented it from decay. Its site—upon a hill—commands a view of the surrounding country, east, west, north and south, for a distance of more than twenty miles. It can only be approached by stiff climbing.

The Romans used its hill for military purposes, and had their camp in the centre, on their street. The Saxons also made it the place where their Wapontake assembled and swore fealty by touching a weapon. The next in succession was the wily Norman, who made it a Manor; and it is not surprising that, with their love of law and authority and discipline, they also made it a centre of Norman government. Yet a modern guide-book dismisses this historic place thus: "A village, 8½ miles from Darlington, and the main road to Stockton runs through its centre." *Sic gloriam mundi transit!*

Let us consider the *causes* which have led to the transformation of Sadberge from a military centre to an obscure village.

(1) *The Rise, Growth and Development of the Durham Palatinate.*

The Palatinate of Durham is a subject much discussed amongst antiquarians.

There are three Palatinates in England, viz., Chester, Lancaster, Durham; in this order probably the last is historically the *first*, for some maintain that the Durham Palatinate began in *Saxon* times.

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On March 22nd, 1889, I put this question to Canon Greenwell, a well-known learned antiquarian in Durham: "What is the Durham Palatinate?" I wrote down his answer, which was:—

(i) The Palatinate history is a puzzle.

(ii) Surtees gives all that is known in his *History of Durham*.

(iii) I think that the Queen is Countess of Sadberge because in 1836 the revenues of the Wapontake and Manor of Sadberge passed to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners and the honours attached to the Manor and Wapontake passed to the Crown. It is to be remembered that as the Durham Palatinate grew and developed, historic Sadberge decayed. A Palatinate is a district within which royal rights and prerogatives are exercised; it is a kingdom within a kingdom, an *imperium in imperio*. The Palatinate of Durham exercised royal rights and prerogatives between the Tyne and Tees, and in ancient maps it is described as "The Franchise of St. Cuthbert."

The monks at Lindisfarne greatly feared Danish incursions, and for safety migrated inland to Chester-le-Street, carrying with them St. Cuthbert's body. In 990 Bishop Aldhun transferred the See to Durham City and carried St. Cuthbert's remains to Durham; and the shrine of St. Cuthbert became the centre of religious enthusiasm and devotion, to which pilgrims flocked in crowds and enriched it with many precious gifts. He was Bishop at Lindisfarne from 695-698—a very brief period for such devotion and reverence, and it is a marvellous instance of the power of goodness. His remains rested in a wattle church, but a noble House of God and famous shrine eventually rose on the banks of the Wear—perhaps the most noble Norman cathedral in England—dedicated to St. Cuthbert.

Let us return to the Palatinate of Durham and its prerogatives.

(i) The Palatinus settled all disputes in his Palatinate.

(ii) He appointed all judges in his Palatinate Courts.

(iii) He raised armies for its defence and security.

(iv) He created Barons and Lords in his Palatinate.

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(v) He had his own Mint, which dates back to 1087, almost the coming of the Normans.
(William Rufus was the first Palatinus to coin, between 1087-1100, and the last to use the Palatinate Mint was Bishop Tunstall, who was deposed in 1559 by Queen Elizabeth.)

(vi) The Palatinus exercised royal prerogative: pardoned murderers, liberated traitors and criminals, and summoned his own Parliament, as Durham sent no representatives to the Parliament at Westminster.
Walbran, in his *History of Gainford*, says: "The County of Durham was unrepresented in the English Parliament until the Commonwealth, because the Bishop of Durham was Prince Palatinate."

(vii) The Palatinus created royal boroughs.
For proof the reader is referred to Dodds' *Royal Boroughs*.

The *Wapontake* of Sadberge required military service as a condition of land tenure, but the Palatinus had power to accept a monetary payment in the place of military service. Now it was the growth of this Palatinate power, endowed with kingly privileges, that created a kingdom within a kingdom, which gradually yet surely undermined the glory of historic Sadberge. We shall not attempt to unravel the puzzle of the Durham Palatinate, but will quote a few authorities (generally so regarded):—

CAMDEN: "King Edward the Confessor, and Athelstane, and Canute, the Dane, confirmed and augmented St. Cuthbert's privileges; nor was the less favour shown by William the Norman, from whose time it was declared a County Palatinate."*

CHANCELLOR SMITH: "By Richard's charter Sadberge became subject to the Palatinate jurisdiction of the See of Durham, yet was governed by distinct officers—as Sheriff, Escheator, Coroner—appointed expressly by patent for SADBERGE."

COKE AND SELDEN: "Soon after the Conquest, Bishop Beke (1283-1810) contended that his Palatinate jurisdiction came not from Norman kings, but was exercised in Saxon times."

* Vol. I, p. 108.

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SYMEON OF DURHAM does not even mention any such jurisdiction; whilst the learned Selden held that it began with Walcher, the first Norman bishop, and was founded by William the Conqueror.

LAPSLEY: "To the legal historian, Bishop Pudsey and King John, rather than Egfrith, Alfred the Great or William the Conqueror, deserve the credit or reproach of the true founders of the Palatinate of Durham; what Pudsey accomplished towards preserving the criminal jurisdiction of the Durham Court, later the lucky blunder of the men of the Bishopric did for the civil jurisdiction, and from these two circumstances proceed the subsequent Palatinate Judiciary" (*County Palatinate*, page 169).

Truly the history of the Palatinate is a puzzle! Its seat or centre of authority was the city of Durham. It was the rise and development of the Palatinate in the city of Durham which was the chief cause of the decay of historic Sadberge.

Chancellor Smith, in an address to law students at Sunderland as Chancellor of the Palatinate Court, said:—

"This Court has witnessed the flight of centuries; it has been presided over by some of the greatest Jurists this country has produced.

"This valuable franchise is not less to be esteemed because its origin is lost in the mist of antiquity.

"The chrysalis of the Palatine power probably dates back to Anglo-Saxon times. On St. Cuthbert's election to the See of Lindisfarne, 689, Egfrid, King of Northumberland, is said to have granted to him and his successors, amongst other territories, Crayke in Yorkshire, and the land for three miles round it. In 875, when the See was at Chester-le-Street, the province of Northumbria received as its sovereign Guthred, son of a famous Danish general, whose title King Alfred was induced to recognise. The legend is that Cuthbert appeared to the Abbot of Crayke and commanded that Guthred should be enthroned. In gratitude, Guthred bestowed upon the See the territory between the rivers Tyne and Wear, with royal rights (which was called 'The Franchise of St. Cuthbert'). The monks induced King Alfred to confirm Guthred's gift, and at the same time to confer on the Bishopric land lying between the Wear and Tees, with JURA REGALIA, not only therein but in all other parts of the See. Thus Norhamshire, Islandshire, Bedlingtonshire (already under St. Cuthbert) became part of the Palatinate in 875 by Guthred's grant."

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The Chancellor adds: "King Alfred's grant *seems* to have been annulled subsequently, for when the See was transferred to Durham, in 995, the Palatinate in which the Bishop exercised Jura Regalia comprised the land between the Tyne and Wear, together with Norham, Holy Island, Bedlington, and Crayke."

Whatever explanation of the puzzle may be given, it is a fact that it was not until 1189, or 300 years later than Guthred, that the Manor and Wapontake of Sadberge was attached to the See of Durham by Bishop Pudsey's purchase.

This addition certainly embraced the southern part of the county, and gave the Bishopric the entire area between the Tyne and Tees.

Before the rise of the Durham Palatinate it was customary to hold two Assizes for the County of Durham —one at Sadberge and another in the City of Durham.

As far as we know, the last case tried at Sadberge was in the seventeenth century, and the earliest held at Durham was in 1304. "Hœc est finalis concordia facta in curea Domini Dunelmensia Episcopi apud Dunelmensis."

For four centuries two Assizes were held; but eventually the Durham Assizes absorbed the Sadberge Assize, and the only ancient privilege that the older place retained was:—

(i) That Sadberge remained a County as in the long past.

(ii) When the Durham Assizes are summoned, the County of Sadberge is also summoned to the Assize. Although there are four Wards in the County of Durham—Darlington, Easington, Chester-le-Street, and Stockton—and, it is said, these are four Royal Boroughs, yet neither Wards nor Boroughs are summoned as such, or separately, to the Durham Assize, yet historic Sadberge is summoned as "*the County of Sadberge.*"

Time is a great leveller of cities and places, for it spares no hoary institution or place because of its antiquity, and still this ancient place survives in "the County of Sadberge."

And the Durham Palatinate survives in its Court and in the person of its Chancellor, yet it, too, has lost much of its glory, and it has felt the iron hand of the robber of the fifteenth century, who, in the twenty-seventh year of his

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reign, took to himself the rights and privileges of Palatinus. Jura Regalia he transferred to himself: "All writs and processes hitherto issued *only* in the Bishop's name, should hereafter be issued *only* in the King's name, and the form of indictment should be, that all offences were against the King's peace, and not against the peace of the Bishop, who, with his temporal Chancellor, were to be Justices of the Peace within the County Palatinate." How the mighty fell! By this Act he removed the Assizes, and the Assize at Sadberge was discontinued, though it is very likely that the Sadberge County Court survived for a time.

Thus the "Jura Regalia" established on the banks of the Wear was one great cause of the eclipse of Sadberge and its Assize Courts, and in time Durham was eclipsed by the same king, but not so utterly in the case of Durham, for the only ancient dignity remaining to historic Sadberge was that she retained the dignity of being "the County of Sadberge," and as such was separately summoned to the Assizes at Durham.

"*Sic gloriam mundi transit.*"

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CHAPTER II.

An Enquiry into the Causes which led to the Decay of Sadberge.

In the previous chapter we glanced at the rise, growth and development of the "Jura Regalia," or Palatinate of Durham, which was one cause of the decay of historic Sadberge.

We now proceed to consider another potent cause of its decay, viz., the diversion of the traffic from Pountey's Bridge and by the Rynkneild Street, to Croft Bridge and through Darlington by a new road from Northallerton. This diversion of traffic stranded and reduced Sadberge to an agricultural village. This is not an uncommon result to towns and communities, resulting from diverting traffic into new channels.

For many centuries, and up to the seventeenth century, communication between the counties of York and Durham was by two Roman streets, viz., Watling and Rynkneild.

Watling Street ran from London and crossed Piercebridge directly north. Rynkneild Street, from York, led to Pountey's Bridge and then north through Sadberge.

"Pountey's Bridge was probably the first arch thrown across the Tees, and fairly may be referred to the Saxon period; no charter reaches its origin, but it is named soon after the Conquest, which leaves no doubt of its long anterior establishment.

"The passage of the river, and the straight, undeviating road which leads from Pountey's Bridge to Sadberge and on to Stainton on the Street, were probably used by the Romans.

"The defences on each side of the river prove the importance which was attached to the pass, and as long as Sadberge retained any consequence this probably continued to be the chief entrance into the county from the south.

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"Ralph Surtees gave to the Convent of Durham all the lands betwixt the road which tends from Pountey's (a Ponte Teys) toward Sadberge and Gilderesit and from Gilderesit ascending to the ruin, betwixt Monkersflatt and Castellarum as far as the same roads; these lands were, I think, assigned to the Sacrist and House of Durham, who was appointed Keeper and Guardian of the Bridge, with an allowance for expenses for the support and repair of the structure, which appear in the Sacrist's book, *e.g.*, '8/4 solutis circa opus Pontis le Pounters in over Dytynsdell.'*

"The decay of Sadberge (once the capital of the district where the Bishop's Court was regularly held) and the increasing afflux of travellers, clerks, and lay to the Shrine of St. Cuthbert and the City of Durham, through the chief passage on to the modern and more open line of road, via Croft Bridge.

"While the old High Street, through the deep woody valley of the Tees, became gradually deserted—it is said on account of the frequent robberies in the hollow pass of the country lane—whilst thieves found a safe retreat in Dytynsdale Wood. From the Bridge the road climbs the hill in as direct a line as possible, and immediately on the brow is a large tumulus—possibly the 'Castellarum' of the Early Charters of Ralph Surtees—or artificial mound surrounded by a fosse, commanding the ascent, and there are terraced vestiges."†

Surtees confirmed the fact that the diversion of traffic from Pountey's Bridge to Croft Bridge was a primary cause in the decay of Sadberge. He also hints at another powerful motive why traffic was transferred to the new route, viz., the great danger of passing over Pountey's Bridge and travelling by Rynkneild Street.

Highwaymen infested the old road; and the shelter of the dense woods, stretching for miles between the two bridges, gave immunity from arrest and security to highwaymen.

It is to the diversion of traffic by way of Croft and Darlington from Sadberge, that one of the causes of its decline may be traced. As to the exact date there is some uncertainty, for Surtees gives 1542 as the date of a Bridge at Croft, but the stone on the Bridge bears 1747 as the date. It is probable that the earlier date refers to a foot-bridge for passengers only, as it is likely that traffic over the new bridge was not earlier than 1747.

* Surtees. † Surtees.

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Croft Bridge. Longstaff gives 1678 as the date of Croft Bridge: "Seven strong arches—probably an earlier one in Henry VIII—built of sandstone taken ex river. It was used as a *military* road and the great cause of Sadberge's decay."

We will give an illustration to show that 1747 is more likely to be the true date:—

Bishop Cosin was Bishop of Durham about 1662, which is 120 years later than the date Surtees gives. The Bishop was unaware of the existence of a bridge at Croft in 1662, and evidently thought that Pountey's Bridge was the *only* route into Yorkshire from Durham.

The Bishop purchased some property at Brafferton, in Yorkshire, and he wished to pay the purchase price. Banks and cheques as means by which money could be transmitted were unknown, so he had to arrange for its payment to the vendor.

He evidently knew of no Croft Bridge, and was aware of Pountey's Bridge as the bridge across the Tees.

He also knew the highway was infested by highwaymen, as he wrote the following letter to his steward at Greatham Hospital, directing him how to convey the purchase price into Yorkshire.

Bishop Cosin's letter to the Master of Greatham Hospital:—

"Agree by private letter between Mr. Ralph Rymer and yourself how the Money shall be safely conveyed unto him, according to the former Agreement, which was that he should send two men to you to Durham, who might help to guard it, with your company to Brafferton, unto which company Dr. Gilbert will give order to two of his family at Greatham Hospital, that upon your sending for them, they shall come provided to goe along with you from Durham. Mr. Hilton's sonne, who brought your letter hither, tells us that he was in great danger to be robbed about Darnton and Neasham by thieves and highwaymen, that lay upon the street there, to set upon passengers who they thought carried any money with them; he named Barwick for one, a famous thiefe, with others in his company, besides one Middleton and one Coperthwaite, who layd at Neasham for their prey, so that he was putt to ride at full speed, for four miles together, to escape them, in their pursuit of him; therefore I shall pray you to be well appointed when you carry the money, and to let it get no wind before you take the journey, and to give warning to Mr. Rymer that the two men whom he intends to send to you shall not know, or make it known, to any person for what end they come to

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you. And so have you all the punctual directions that I can give you herein; only you are to pay Mr. Rymer allowance for interest for two months after Michaelmas."

In obedience to his master's orders, the steward placed the money at the bottom of a farmer's waggon, then loaded it with straw; he disguised the four servants as farm labourers, as if only conveying a waggon-load of straw.

Thus they safely passed Dinsdale Wood, and crossed Pountey's Bridge, eluding the Barwick "Black Gang" and the Neasham highwaymen, and paid the purchase money to the vendor at Brafferton.*

This incident proves (1) that there was *no* bridge at Croft in Bishop Cosin's time; (2) the danger of travelling over Pountey's Bridge in the seventeenth century.

We shall regard Croft Bridge as erected in 1747, nearly a century after Cosin, and that its erection transferred the traffic from Sadberge through Croft and Darlington north, and thus gradually Sadberge declined from its ancient glory.

The neighbourhood of the Street and Pountey's Bridge had long acquired notoriety for violence and robbery, and it had this reputation early in the fourteenth century. Between 1317-33 Bishop Beaumont was Bishop of Durham: he and two Cardinals were on a journey to Scotland, and they travelled by the Rynkneild Street and Pountey's Bridge, through Sadberge, and though they escaped the Dinsdale gang of robbers, yet at Rusheyford on the Street, Gilbert de Middleton, keeper of Mitford Castle, near Morpeth, appeared at the head of mounted highwaymen, and speedily relieved the Cardinals of their valuables, carried off the Bishop, and his brother Lord Beaumont, as prisoners, and demanded a large sum as a ransom. It is said that to secure their release, the Prior of Durham sold the habits, plate and jewels belonging to the Cathedral.

The head of the gang claimed the title of Earl of Northumberland, though he was really Middleton of Mitford Castle in that county. Eventually he was captured and conveyed from Newcastle by ship to Grimsby, and from thence he was dragged at the tail of his horse, conveyed to London, and hanged in the presence of the Cardinals he had robbed. This robber gang was not broken up even by such violent measures, for the Croft road near Darlington attained such an evil reputation that the Baydelbeck Inn, on the Darlington road, was sold, along with twenty acres of land, for the sum of £500.

* *History of Darlington*, p. 278.

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The notoriety of the neighbourhood around Dinsdale Woods, Neasham, and the country between Pountey's Bridge was such, that it has led to a novel called *John Royston*, from which we quote: "There is a deep hollow where the old road has run down to the ford from Roman times; they called it Pountey's lane, because in ancient days there was Pountey's Bridge, of which you can find traces when the Tees is low, and you may see a little of the ruins of the little chapel of St. John's, where a holy man dwelt, and he must have seen strange sights, for the way to that bridge was famous for thieves, and there is no doubt that the road had an evil reputation, which led to the erection of a bridge higher up the river at Croft, which has left Pountey's lane so green and lonely. In winter the roads were little more than tracks, and only partially enclosed.

"The traffic was almost entirely by pack-horses, travelling in single file, in long lines, and their bells could be heard at considerable distances. In addition to the bad roads, there was not a road of any importance that was not infested with robbers. These belonged to every social grade—to the broken ruffian, who pursued his villainous trade, from a footpad to the broken or outlawed gentleman, who appeared as the well-mounted highwayman or as captain of the gang. There is abundant evidence that during the long-continued Wars of the Roses, the plunder of the Catholic clergy and laity, the popularity of the numerous buccaneers who frequented the Spanish Main, and the habits of pillage to which Continental volunteers had become accustomed, had so far lowered the national sense of honesty that gentlemen (and especially those who had been hardly used) did not feel it by any means a disgrace to take to the roads, *e.g.*, young Henry Clifford, afterwards Earl of Cumberland, was at one time leader of a band of robbers; and Shakespeare, in Elizabeth's time, did not feel that it would shock the general sense of propriety if he represented a Prince of Wales as disguising himself to act the part of a highwayman."*

The book proceeds to describe the terrors of travel on the roads between Pountey's Bridge and Croft:—"Wrapped as he was from head to foot in the farmer's cloak, the nearest passer-by would be sure to mistake him for one of the scattered logs. The disguise was all-important, for scarcely had he composed himself than two shadowy

* *John Royston*, by Wrightson, p. 250.

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forms emerged from the darkness of the upper lane, and moving noiselessly along the turf brushed past him; they went down to the ford, but did not pass it. Two others came up, and to John's great annoyance seated themselves close by on the roots of the great ash tree; the two were speedily joined by three more ruffians, in what was apparently the place of a tragedy. It was suggested to stretch a rope across the road, for they expected a horseman; another said, 'Chuck that log on the bridle-path.' Two ruffians advanced to pick up the log, but were startled by a stern command, 'Fools! leave both log and rope alone; if Wilder and Jumping Dick, and a few more of their mounted friends have got upon his scent, he is like to be pressed hard: would you break your own necks in trying to break his? If they ride this way, depend upon it he'll be first, and in spite of the cursed darkness it will be strange if one of us here doesn't find some way to lame his horse and bring him down.' A black horse dashed by, flecked with foam; a furious rider, with a white form clinging to his breast; and behind these a crowd of reckless horsemen. For one moment every face in that fierce rout was stamped upon John's burning eyelids; each leaf, branch, twig of the forest giant glowed with the intensity of fire; there was the sense of vast concussion, that even to the stunned senses of the hearers reverberated miles away into the black dome of heaven. He heard, beside the ford, a burst of cries and imprecations, and in the pulsations of some distant flash he saw a bank of water pass along the Tees, and heard a scream so fearful that it drove the blood to his heart."*

"Their audacity and comparative immunity is surprising, yet the most famous ones moved amongst a network of willing accomplices; the wayside innkeepers always found it advantageous to afford secret protection and possibly secret information to gentlemen of the road, whose royal liberality was as much to be desired as their vengeance deprecated—and it gave a glamour and glory to them."*

In the twentieth century, conditions of travel are so vastly changed, and roads have been so improved, that we can form but a feeble idea of the state of affairs in 1747, when the erection of Croft Bridge diverted the traffic from Sadberge to Darlington via Croft.

Also, the formation of Turnpike Trusts did much to diminish highwaymen and to improve travelling. The effect on Sadberge is seen from the following fact: "On

* Wrightson's *John Royston*.

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August 4th, 1775, Sir William Blakiston and Sir Henry Gould passed through Darlington to Durham to hold Durham Assizes."

This is the *first recorded abandonment of Sadberge* as an Assize town, and the substitution of Croft Bridge for Pountey's Bridge, and the adoption of the new route to Durham, via Darlington, instead of the ancient street through Sadberge.

There can be little doubt that this diversion of traffic was a principal cause of the decay of ancient Sadberge, becoming no longer a military centre but an agricultural village.

"The cause of Sadberge's early importance arose from its vicinity to the ancient Rynkneild Street, which crossed the Tees at Pountey's Bridge." *

The corollary is true, that the abandonment of Rynkneild Street and the erection of Croft Bridge was one of the principal causes of its decay, and thus ancient Sadberge was left stranded. Yet the diversion of traffic did not improve the roads, for a Mr. Hoult, in travelling from Rusheyford to Durham in 1811, lost seven horses by breaking their legs on the journey.† Improved roads and safer travel hastened the decay of Sadberge.

In 1655 a new impulse was given to communication between places and the use of main roads; for the first time the public were allowed to use the royal letter-bags or mails, and the postal service had a regular system of postal messengers, who rode continuously between London and Edinburgh in three days.

At the first, the postal service was not so much "pro bono publico" as for the service of the Government, and Parliament could intercept even royal letters.

The most important and principal route from London to the north was "Watling Street," which crossed the Yore at Borough Bridge and the Swale at Catterick Bridge, and the Tees at Pierce Bridge; but Rynkneild Street led from York and over Pountey's Bridge, through the centre of Sadberge to the north.

Up to 1747, when Croft Bridge opened a new route north, through Darlington, it was still dangerous to travel because of highwaymen. The establishment of Turnpike Trusts, for roads were made by means of borrowed monies and repaired by means of toll-bar charges, did something to reduce the number of these gentlemen. The

* Hind's *History of Northumberland.* † Longstaff's History.

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Barwick and Neasham gang, like Othello, lost their occupation by the erection of Croft Bridge; and new roads were made, especially in South Durham. In 1747 an Act empowered the making of a road from Stockton to Darlington, running from west to east, whereas Rynkneild Street ran from south to north; this new road ran through the centre of Sadberge.

In 1748 another Act empowered the making of a road from Barnard Castle to Bowes, which ran west.

In 1751 another Act empowered the making of a road from Darlington to Piercebridge, which linked Darlington with the Watling Street.

In 1795 another Act empowered the making of a road from Cockerton (linking it with the new road to Piercebridge) to Staindrop.

Thus in the eighteenth century new roads spring up in South Durham, destroying the security of robbers, making travelling not merely safer, but quicker, developing the resources of South Durham, and, not least, its mineral wealth; new centres of population sprang up; but these desirable improvements hastened the decay of ancient Sadberge.

We conclude that what led to the decay of this Roman and Saxon military centre was:—

(i) The rise, growth and establishment of the Durham Palatinate—the JURA REGALIA—by which Durham City became the centre of legal administration and authority.

(ii) Sadberge became no longer a military centre, but retained the privileges of the "County of Sadberge," and as such was summoned to the Assizes in the new centre at Durham.

(iii) The diversion of traffic from Rynkneild Street and Pountey's Bridge over Croft Bridge, in 1747, which opened a fresh route—through Darlington—to the new Assize at Durham.

This left Sadberge stranded, falling into obscurity, unknown to commerce and men.

It may be asked, "Is there any probability that Sadberge will ever regain her lost prestige?" As a military centre its position is unique. Roman, Saxon and Norman quickly recognised its military advantages, for it was the centre of a Roman camp, a Saxon wapontake, and a Norman manor, yet it is improbable that it will ever become a military centre, though modern artillery, planted on Sadberge Hill, would soon destroy Pudsey's glorious Parish Church in Darlington. Its military glory is gone!

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Will it ever become a residential resort? Its numerous "*placeams*" in the past prove that it was famous as a health resort.

Fifty years ago the Midland Railway Company projected a line from its junction with the London and North-Western Railway and the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway Company at *Hellifield*—a station on its main line to Morecambe. This projected line would run eastward to Middlesbrough, and thus give this enterprising Company direct access from Liverpool to the sea at Middlesbrough. If it is ever made, the line would run through Sadberge and restore its intercourse with the great world of commerce. If the present monopoly is broken—and what monopoly will survive Demos?—Sadberge would probably become a health resort, as in former days.

Considering its position, if railway facilities are provided, this is more than probable. Standing on a hill where the Saxon paid his "Sac" or "Soc" a thousand years ago, it commands the country around—west, south, east, north—for over twenty miles.

The view west, south and north from Sadberge reservoir is probably unique in County Durham. Westward is lovely Wensleydale, Richmond, and beyond, Swaledale; in front, the famous Tees Valley, stretching to Barnard Castle; on the south, the Cleveland Hills and the Vale of York. This is the view from the reservoir. If a view is taken from the site of the defunct "County Pinfold"—the centre of the village—looking eastward you can see the Hartlepools; and on a clear day I have seen the sea from the churchyard.

Sadberge has all the requisites to make it a health resort—invigorating air, glorious views; it only needs good railway facilities. Give her these and her days of decay are gone: she will regain some of her ancient attraction as a residential resort, and again she will be known and esteemed amongst men. ***Floreat!***

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CHAPTER III.

The Rise of Darlington.

One of the chief causes which led to the decline and decay of historic Sadberge produced the rise and prosperity of Darlington. So long as the traffic to the north passed over Pountey's Bridge and used the Roman Rynkneild Street, Sadberge flourished. It was the erection of Croft Bridge, in the eighteenth century, that diverted the traffic over the new bridge and led to the rise and growth of Darlington, and led to Bousfield's graphic yet tragic description of Sadberge as "*an insignificant village.*"

To those who are interested in the rise and progress of Darlington, we refer them to Surtees, Hutchinson, Longstaff, Dodd's *Boroughs*, Dodd's *Annuals*, and Bousfield's *Walks about Darlington.*

In these three chapters of Part II we have tried to record the *causes* of the decay of historic Sadberge and its transformation from the centre of a Saxon Wapontake to that of a village, chiefly occupied by farmers and a population of perhaps four hundred people.

"*Sic gloriam Sadburgiæ transit.*"

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PART III.

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INTRODUCTION

TO

PART III.

IN writing Parts I and II, I have had the assistance of my eldest son, the Rev. Austin R. Taylor, M.A. Oxon. This was valuable, for he was placed in the Second Class in Literæ Humaniores at Oxon. In my difficult task he has been an unfailing help.

The Bishop of Durham flatters when he says, that what I do not know of Sadberge is not worth knowing. I am very conscious how little really is known of historic Sadberge, and that a mine of knowledge waits for an explorer.

My son has been cut off in the prime of life, and in the midst of usefulness. He had promised to preach the Dedication Sermon at Holy Trinity Church, Hoxton, N., and left a sick-bed to do this, but after preaching a few minutes he gave the Ascription and returned home to his bed, from which he never rose, until taken to Guy's Hospital, where he had formerly acted as Chaplain. This was on Friday, November 11th, 1918, and on the 12th, in the early hours of morn, he passed to the Higher Life.

To me and this work his loss is irreparable. My friend, Dr. Leathley (Oxon.), has kindly promised his help.

I enter on this Third Part in my eightieth year, and very conscious of the imperfections of age and the circumstances under which I write. Still, I desire to leave some permanent record of historic Sadberge, from Briton, Saxon and Norman times, and I can only try to contribute a little to *History*.

I trust readers will consider the circumstances, and be a little kind to its imperfections, and turn to them a blind eye.

W. L. T.

"SADBERGE,"
ST. ANNE'S-ON-SEA,
May 29th, 1919.

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CHAPTER I.

Who Introduced Christianity into Sadberge?

There is no direct evidence to answer this query, and it will be necessary to consider the places geographically united with it, through the Rynkneild Street, that runs direct from York through Sadberge. The truth of Fuller's saying will be evident, "We see here the light of the world, but we see not who kindled it."

In very early times there were two great centres of Northern Christianity: on the south, York, and in the north, the Isle of Lindisfarne.

York was an early Christian centre, for at the Council of Arles, in Gaul, 314, three British Bishops signed its decrees as Galliæ—*i.e.*, they were in the Roman Empire—*Restitutus*, Bishop of London; *Eboricus*, Bishop of York; *Adelphus*, either Bishop of Cærleon or Lincoln. Thus, early in the fourth century, an organised early British Church existed at York, for no less than seven British Bishops had occupied its See *prior* to Paulinus, viz., Fagan, Taurinus, Theodosius, Eboricus, Sampson, Pyrannus, Tadiosus or Thadax.*

"It is true that there is an absence of information as to the introduction of Christianity; it came, it grew; but how, by whom planted? All is blank. It is a fact that British history has all been blotted out by the severity of the English Conquest and the barbarity of the neighbouring tribes."†

"Welsh records are, that the first conversion of Northumbria was due to a royal missionary of Cumbræ, Burn or Run, son of Artigen or Arien, and that he baptized Edwin, King of Northumbria."†

Cadwalla and the Britons were traditional Christians, and it is possible that ancient Britons may have introduced

* Dr. Selloway. † Bishop Browne.

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Christianity into Sadberge, as they were early in its neighbourhood; yet if this were so, the Saxon invasion soon wiped it out. It is more likely that Ionian missionaries introduced Christianity into Sadberge.

Bede seems to regard its introduction as from Lindisfarne: "From Lindisfarne all the churches in Bernicia, from Tyne to Tweed, had their beginning, as also some of Deira, from the Tyne to the Humber."* Kentigern, in 578, planted Christianity in Cambria, which extended to Dumbarton.

Sadberge was in ancient Deira, between the Tyne and the Humber, and as the centre of the Saxon Wapontake, would probably early attract the Ionian missionaries. Its chief missionaries were Columba and Aidan.

"These Celtic missionaries made their centre at Lindisfarne for thirty years. The flame enkindled by Paulinus was extinguished with King Edwin's death, and he retired into Kent, yet Columba re-enkindled it;"† and this Celtic Church of the sixth century is probably the founder of Christianity in Sadberge.

The real founder of Lindisfarne, from whence the influence of Christianity spread, was Aidan, who came from Iona in 635 A.D., two years after Paulinus retired into Kent. Now Sadberge was the *centre* of the Saxon Wapontake: Lindisfarne was the centre of Northern aggressive Christianity, and the two centres would naturally attract each other.

"Aidan is the true Apostle of England, and not Augustine. Iona succeeded where Augustine failed; he laid the foundation of the Northern Church broad and strong, and for sixteen years he laboured at Lindisfarne. He was not merely a great Missionary, but his pupils were fearless in spreading the truth."‡

"The two most beautiful Christian characters in the seventh century were Aidan and King Oswald. The grace of discretion marked Aidan out for the Northumbrian Mission; he had all the virtues of the Celtic race without its faults. He was Missionary Bishop at Lindisfarne."‡

"Aidan was a man of singular meekness, piety and moderation, zealous in the cause of God, though not according to knowledge."*

Oswald was baptized 635, and when King of Northumbria sent to Iona, asking for missionaries.

* Bede, Bk. iii. c. iii. † Lightfoot. ‡ Lightfoot's *Leaders*, &c.

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The first missionary was a failure. When he returned to Iona, Aidan asked: "Were you not too severe to unlearned hearers? Did you not feed them with meat, instead of milk?" The community recognized Aidan's fitness and he was sent from Iona to Lindisfarne as missionary in 635.

Aidan founded the *Celtic* Church, and King Oswald accompanied him, as interpreter, on his missionary journeys and interpreted Aidan's message to his subjects. Thus Church and State were early allied, Aidan's centre being Lindisfarne—Oswald's, Bamburgh, the capital of Northumbria.

From Lindisfarne Monasticism spread: Carlisle, Hexham, Melrose were founded between 635-682; Christian centres were founded on Tyne, Wear, South Shields, Jarrow, Hartlepool, Whitby: thus the Christian faith spread.

At this time, Sadberge was in the Kingdom of Northumbria, and Oswald was its king. In Saxon times it was the centre of the Saxon Wapontake.

"Oswald, as King of Northumbria, united Pict, Scot, English into one kingdom."*

"Now the ancient kingdoms of Bernicia and Deira adjoined and were long at enmity, and remained separate and distinct kingdoms. King Oswald united them into one kingdom."*

"Oswald organized and united the Saxon Heptarchy; he was the chief of the Saxons, yet humble, affable, and generous to the poor and strangers."†

Cadwalla, King of the Britons, slew Edwin, King of Northumbria, and Oswald slew Cadwalla at Heavenfield, 634.

Bede asserts: "In Bernicia no sign of the Christian faith, no church or altar, had ever been erected throughout the nation before Oswald planted the Cross on the battlefield of Heavenfield."†

Oswald was a Christian king, and before the battle he exhorted his army: "Let us all kneel and jointly beseech the true and living God Almighty in His mercy to defend us from the haughty and fierce enemy, for He knows that we have undertaken a just war for the safety of our nation."†

* Bishop Creighton. † Bede, Bk. iii, c. xx.

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Oswald's victory gave him a united kingdom. Now Edwin, the Saxon king, had begun the erection of a Christian Church at York, and King Oswald completed it.

Two Roman roads ran northwards—Watling Street and Rynkneild Street; the latter passed through the centre of Sadberge and the centre of the Saxon Wapontake. Here the Romans had a camp, and Rynkneild Street ran through the centre of their camp. Oswald and Aidan, in their journeys from Lindisfarne to York, must have gone through Sadberge.

Oswald was "Rex Christianus et Bredwalda."*

It is not improbable these two planted the Christian Church in Sadberge, the centre of the Saxon Wapontake; and there is proof that the Saxon Church was strong in the eighth century *within* three miles of Sadberge.

In the twentieth century there exist the remains of an Early Saxon Church at Sockburn, on the banks of the Tees. ("Sockburn, Saxon *Socca, by rig.*") Although this old Saxon Church is now in ruins, yet in it are preserved numerous pre-Reformation stones. Here is Sir John Conyers' chapel, who slew the *Worm* in the *Tees*, and here the Falchion is kept. Here also, in 780, Higbald was consecrated as Bishop of *Lindisfarne*.

If, in the eighth century, a Bishop of Lindisfarne was consecrated at Sockburn, within three miles of Sadberge, it is a reasonable conclusion that Aidan and Oswald, in their journeys to York, when they passed through the centre of the Saxon Wapontake, planted a Christian Church at Sadberge.

In considering this question, the influence of Christian *women* in the Early Saxon Church should be considered.

In the Northern Saxon Church are three chief figures:—

(i) Aidan, the Missionary Bishop;
(ii) King Oswald, head of Saxon Northumbria, whose seat was at Bamburgh;
(iii) Hilda, the chief educator of the Saxon Church in its earlier stages, but later taken up by Benedict Biscop.

Hild was the Saxon War Goddess. Hilda was the Scandinavian War Goddess.

Hilda, the Early Christian missionary to the Saxons, was of royal birth, and in her was exemplified the Greek idea of Woman.

* Bede, Bk. iii, c. xx.

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The population of Durham was in three great centres—Tyne, Wear, Hartlepool—and her name is linked with all three.

The unity of the State arose from the unity of the Church.

"Northumbria was the centre and focus of light in England, and Hilda was a chief maker of England, and chief instrument in diffusing the light." *

"The first thirty-three years of her life she spent as a Secular; the other thirty-three years she wore the Monastic habit, her first monastery a piece of land on the north side of the Wear, and here she spent one year."†

"In 649 she succeeded Hein as Abbess at Hartlepool, and was eight years there. In this age, monasteries were the only repositories of learning and centres of missionary enterprise, and to them kings and the lowly resorted in all perplexities, and even Bishops sought her advice. In this age her influence was such that the Parish Church of Hartlepool was dedicated to St. Hilda. Aidan admitted her a nun. Hein was the first in Northumbria. Hilda succeeded her at Hartlepool, and here is the earliest Christian cemetery we know. Here her sisters sleep, their names cut in runes and Anglian letters, dating to 750, on little stone pillows under their heads, adorned with ornamental crosses. She insisted on the study of the Scriptures, and *five* of her Monks became Bishops: *Bosa*, of York; *Hæddi*, of Dorchester; *Oftfer*, of Worcester; *John*, of Beverley and Hexham, who ordained Bede; *Wilfrid*, of York, Leicester, and Hexham."‡ She propagated the faith by multiplying monasteries. Between 667-680 she founded a community at Streanschalay, the Bay of Lightning, later known as Whitby Abbey; and such was her influence, that she presided at the famous Whitby Council, to decide the Easter Controversy. "In 680 the most religious servant of Christ, Hilda, Abbess of the Monastery, after performing many heavenly works on earth, passed from these to receive the rewards of the heavenly life, November 19th, 680; the first thirty-three years being spent as a Secular, and the rest wearing the Monastic habit."§

It may be asked, What link is there between Hilda, the Abbess at Hartlepool, and Sadberge? In reply, let us trace her history.

* Lightfoot, *Leaders*, &c. † Bede, Bk. III. c. xxiii.
‡ Bishop Browne, p. 114. § Bede.

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(i) For eight years this earnest propagator of the Christian faith was resident in Hartlepool, part of the Saxon Wapontake, and she was not likely to leave this centre of military power in paganism.

(ii) The immense influence of Woman in the Saxon Church.

The Picts' royal line was through the *female*. Taldrean, their king, died in Wilfrid's time, and was nephew of the Northumbrian king.

"Ainfrit was the first Christian King of Bernicia."*

"The Picts came from Scythia, and landed in Ireland. The Irish told them there was a land, visible on a clear day, uninhabited, and they had better possess it. They did. They had no wives, so they recrossed, and the Irish gave them wives."*

Plutarch:—"The Celtæ from the earliest times were firm believers in the wisdom of their women, and when Hannibal made peace with the *Celtæ*, one clause read: 'If Carthaginians have anything to lay against the Celtæ, it shall be brought before the Celtæ *women*.'"† "From Clotilda, Princess of Burgundy, in seven generations, were four women, through whom, in 160 years, four generations were converted to Christianity."‡

From the earliest times Queens and Princesses desired (1) the Religious Life, (2) Education.

"From Lindisfarne all the Churches in Bernicia, from Tyne to Tweed, had their beginning, as also some of those in Deira, from the Tyne to the Humber."§

Sadberge was in ancient Deira; its Roman street ran through its centre and thus linked it with York, and with King Oswald and his York Church, and Aidan. It would indeed be singular if Aidan—Oswald—Hilda left this Saxon centre in pagan darkness, and it is probably not a fiction, that one of these early missionaries planted the Cross on Sadberge hill: true, we see the light, yet can only conjecture who brought it. It is a singular fact that for generations the church at Sadberge was a *private* chapel—up to 1856. The Saxon *King*, being head of the Saxon Wapontake, made its Church his *private* chapel—perhaps the first was King Oswald, about 650 A.D.

* Bede. † Bishop Browne, p. 114. ‡ Browne, *Before Augustine*, p. 85.
§ Bede, Bk. iii, c. iii.

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Canon Greenwell, one of the most learned antiquarians in the County of Durham, told me, "In all probability the *Church* owed its existence, to the place being the centre of the ancient Saxon Wapontake, and its Saxon king erected a church, where the Wapontake assembled, long before the Norman invasion."

Floyer:—"In later Saxon times a great many churches existed on the private manors of Thanes, and were little more than *private* chapels."*

This may account for Sadberge Church being from the earliest times a private chapel, and after Bishop Pudsey's purchase, in 1189, a Bishop's peculiar up to 1856, when Bishop Maltby proposed to make it a *Parish* Church.

* *Studies of English Church.*

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CHAPTER II.

Erection of a Christian Church.

As Sadberge was the centre of the Saxon Wapontake, and the place where it assembled, it is not improbable that a Saxon king erected a church. This is not improbable, since the Saxon King Oswald erected one in York.

Floyer, in his Studies of English Church Endowments, asserts: "In later Saxon times a great many churches existed on the private manors of Thanes, which were little more than private chapels." This was not uncommon, for in the MS. Registers of Lanercost Priory occurs "Capella de Virgas, built of Wattel Work at Triermain, in which divine service was celebrated by consent of Egelwine, the last Anglo-Saxon Bishop of Durham," 1051-1071.

It is reasonable to suppose that the Lord of the Wapontake provided a Church for the place where the Wapontake assembled. Now the lord was the Saxon king, and in early times neither Saxon, Dane, nor Norman allowed encroachments on royal rights. We quote from an article on Durham, by Ronald McNeill: "At the time of the Conquest, the Bishop's possessions included nearly all the district between Tyne and Tees, *except Sadberge*, and also the outlying districts of Bedlingtonshire, Norhamshire, Islandshire, and Crayke."* Geographically Sadberge was in "St. Cuthbert's Patrimony," granted to him by Guthred, the Dane, yet royal supremacy over Sadberge was carefully guarded. In 1154, Henry II granted to Wm. de Vesey, Lord of Alnwick, two oxgangs, "De domino de Sadburgiæ."†

We are inclined to think that the Saxon church, which stood on Sadberge hill, may reasonably be supposed to have been erected by King Oswald, as Lord of the Wapontake which assembled there. In conversation with Canon Greenwell, he said: "The Church at Sadberge was originally the *private* chapel of the Bishop, who allowed it to be used by the people." This was a fact after the purchase of the Wapontake and Manor by Bishop Pudsey in 1189.

* *Encyl. Britt.*, vol. viii, p. 908. † Pipe Roll of Northumberland, 1154.

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His successors describe it as such, *e.g.:* Bishop Kellaw, Bishop of Durham 1811-16, in his Registers, calls it "Mea Capella Sadburgia," and, as Lord of the Manor, he claimed all wrecks on the East Coast, and from a ship, wrecked at Hartlepool, he ordered a *Candelabra* to be made from a mast for "Mea Capella Sadburgia." So that certainly after Pudsey's purchase it was a private chapel of the Bishops as Lords of the Saxon Wapontake and Manor of Sadberge.

It may be asked where is this Candelabra? This question may be asked of many antiquities linked with Sadberge, for its ancient registers have disappeared. May we suppose that the minions of Cromwell sorely needed *light*, and this may explain the disappearance of the Registers?

Prior to 1189, royal rights at Sadberge were carefuly guarded, and afterwards it was, up to 1856, a private chapel of the Bishop of Durham, as Lord of the Wapontake and Manor of Sadberge.

Probably three Churches have stood on the hill of Sadberge:—(1) *Saxon*; (2) *Norman*; (3) *Victorian.*

(1) *Saxon.*—In early days churches were used as places of sanctuary, and there is evidence that the church at Sadberge, in Stephen's reign, was so used about 1140. "In Stephen's reign England was overrun with highwaymen, and it is recorded that William, surnamed Sergeant (*i.e.*, a servant), living at Hartburn, about five miles east of Sadberge, fled with forty cattle to the nearest Cemetrie, Sadburiæ. He rode a poor horse, and fell into the hands of thieves, who carried off his cattle and took him prisoner to Thirsk." * This was in Norman times.

Now is there any evidence of a Saxon Church at Sadberge?

Up to 1892 we knew of none, except what Longstaff relates.

In 1887 the present Church was in a very neglected condition, having no troughing or spouting to carry away the rain, and it occupies a very exposed position and can be seen for many miles. The excuse for its neglect was, that the Church stood on sand, and the water filtered away, but its walls were black with damp. Spouting and troughing were supplied, and its roof and walls made watertight, and in 1892 its chancel was seated with oak choir benches, pulpit and desk of oak were erected, and in the nave pitch pine benches. Its reopening services were in September, 1892, and up to this service I knew very little of the Saxon or Norman Church which stood to the south of the present one.

* Longstaff's *History.*

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Mr. Blakey, a member of the choir in the Norman Church, attended the reopening service. He sought an interview with me afterwards. He said: "Perhaps you would like to hear something about the old Church?" "Certainly," I replied. He said, "In the old church the choir was at the west end, and I was a member," and he gave the names of six members. "When Geoffrey Bulmer had finished this present Church, there were two churches standing on this hill, one a Norman, about six yards to the south of this present one. The authorities offered him £10 and the old Norman Church, if he would remove it. He did so, and removed the materials into Darlington. With the materials he made a wall from Crown Street to the Stonebridge, as an embankment to the river Skerne. He made a stoneyard with the materials between Crown Street and Priestgate, and at the Stonebridge he erected a house for himself, and then he only had materials remaining to build the kitchen of the 'Glittering Star,' in Priestgate."

This information was a surprise and a great revelation. I resolved to make investigations, and Mr. Blakey's story was verified by competent authorities.

I consulted Canon Greenwell, in 1892. His reply is dated September 23rd, 1892, and is as follows:—"I asked an architectural friend, having an hour between the trains in Darlington, to look at the stones, and he says that they are all probably early Norman, and may have been portions of a string course, but this is *very doubtful*. One stone has two figures, a man and a woman, possibly Adam and Eve, with the peculiarity of each having a hooded dress, which occurs pretty generally 1080-1100, but the stones may be of still earlier date. The ornament surrounding the figures appears to be a clumsy adaptation of interlacing, while the other stone is too much weathered to allow the subjects to be made out. Many of the stones in the wall of the inn, both back and front, are from the old Church, and are of Norman date."

Thus Mr. Blakey's statement was confirmed by a competent antiquarian, that the stones of the Norman Church at Sadberge were, in 1831, transferred to Darlington, and made an embankment to the river Skerne from Crown Street to the Stonebridge.

This led to an interview with Canon Greenwell in Durham, who said: "The *carved* stones were used in *Saxon* Churches as *object* lessons. Similar stones exist in Elwick Hall Church. The stone representing Adam and Eve probably

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dates back to Egbert, 803, the Saxon King, though it may be S. Cutheard, 903, but it is *Saxon*. The other stone represents our Lord on horseback, trampling underfoot Satan, which is not uncommon in early Norman Churches, but it is much weathered."

Thus, in the opinion of the most learned antiquarian of the twentieth century in the county of Durham, Mr. Blakey's visit has led to the recovery of a Saxon stone pointing to an early Saxon Church at Sadberge, perhaps as early as the ninth century.

I communicated with the Rector of Elwick Hall, the Rev. G. W. Reynolds, who unfortunately was blind, so that his sister, Miss Reynolds, replied, and I give her reply: "We have two small stones about twelve inches square, placed on each side of the chancel arch as a sculpture, representing probably the temptation in Paradise, yet in spite of whitewash the figures can be plainly seen; they are evidently *pre-Conquest*. The stone on the north side may represent the expulsion from Paradise of Adam and Eve. We have also a sculptured stone, much decayed, near the west door, representing the Crucifixion, with the figures of S. Mary and S. John on either side of the Cross."

Thus carved stones, used as object lessons, existed in the Saxon Churches of Sadberge and Elwick Hall.

Thus it was proved a Saxon Church existed at Sadberge. Unfortunately, these carved stones were in the kitchen wall of an inn. Enquiry disclosed that the inn was in the hands of a mortgagee, who had foreclosed. Application to the agent received an answer that he would not allow their removal. Why we can surmise, yet we could only "wait and see." A little later, a Darlington man applied for a certificate at Sadberge Rectory, and before leaving, asked me: "Do you know who owns the 'Glittering Star'?" I said, "No." "Well, Mr. Clarkson has bought the block." I went at once and saw Mr. Clarkson in Darlington, and was very kindly received. He said, "I did not hold the inn a week, but sold it to Cameron's Brewery Co., or you should have the stones with pleasure." Their restoration to Sadberge was surrounded with many difficulties. Cameron's offices and brewery are in West Hartlepool, in Stranton parish, and fortunately its Vicar was a University friend, so I asked him to approach the Directors. I was informed that permission to remove the stones required the approval of the *Board* of Directors. The proverb is: "All comes to him who waits," and eventually the Vicar of Stranton forwarded the Board's

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permission, authorising their removal, on condition no damage was done to the building. This authority I placed in Mr. Clarkson's hands, who kindly removed the two carved stones from the inn, repaired the wall, and notified where I could secure them. I take this opportunity of acknowledging the great kindness of Cameron's Directors, the kindly offices of the Vicar of Stranton, and the generosity of Mr. Clarkson, in helping to restore these Saxon and Norman relics of the early Saxon Church, and the Norman one which succeeded it. The stones are now permanently fixed in the Porch of the Church on the hill of Sadberge, where the Saxons swore fealty to their king.

Later I received a letter from Bishop Westcott:

AUCKLAND CASTLE,
April 9*th*, 1897.

DEAR MR. TAYLOR,

Let me congratulate you on the discovery and recovery of the fragments of the old Church. I hope that I may have the opportunity of seeing them.

Yours most truly,

F. B. DUNELM.

For a time the stones were in the Rectory, and here the Bishop saw them, also Sir David and Lady Dale and others. Canon Greenwell was anxious to secure them for the Dean and Chapter Library, but they were *earlier* than Durham Cathedral, and their home was Sadberge Church, where they remain. These ancient relics were eventually built into the new South Porch, and Canon Greenwell said: "Originally they were used in the Saxon Church as object lessons." A brass also tells their history to the present and future generations of Sadberge.

Teaching through the eye is more effective than by the ear; hence the practice in the early Church of images and pictures as object-lessons to teach the Christian religion.

Nilus (448-451): "They should cover the building on all sides with histories of the Old and New Testaments, so that those unacquainted with letters, and cannot read the Holy Scriptures, may have reminders of the worthy actions of the Saints."

Bede, in the sixth century, recommends the placing of pictures of the twelve Apostles, and the Virgin, and the Gospel history on the south side of a church.

Benedict Biscop erected three Churches at Wearmouth, and on their walls he placed pictures and representations of the Holy Scriptures, and the Saints, as object-lessons.

So the Saxon Church at Sadberge had, we now know, a representation of the Fall, and the Norman Church of 1266 had a representation of our Lord triumphing over Satan.

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Few places have greater links with the past in the county of Durham than the ancient county of Sadberge, and few places have suffered such destruction of its ancient relics. Those who should have acted as trustees of its Norman Church gave it away, yet the present modern Church contains relics of its former Saxon and Norman Churches. The Church is the Body of Christ, and the Gates of Hades will not prevail against this Body, yet of the fabrics, many hoary with age, men have done their best to destroy, and Sadberge has been no exception to iconoclastic efforts.

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CHAPTER III.

Norman Church.

This Church, dating back to 1266, was given away in 1832, and £10 added, to the builder of the present Church. Its design has been preserved by a plan, which readers of this History will be able to study. This builder knew how to use materials for his own purposes, but carved figures were a difficulty. Effigies he split and left in the churchyard; the Finial Cross, being cruciform, was to him useless as building material, so he left it; but there was a small stone about twelve inches by six, which bore Roman numerals MCCLXVI. So he tried to carve his initials, *G.B.*, *underneath* the numerals, before building it into the south wall of the chancel. These two letters, carved by himself, were long a puzzle to antiquarians and myself.

Canon Fowler carefully examined both the letters and numerals. He said the numerals were genuine (1266), but the letters were *added* to puzzle antiquarians. A happy guess!

The well-known artist in stained glass, Mr. Hemming, when working in the present chancel, said the letters represented T. H., for they were Old English capital letters, badly cut.

Now 1266 was over seventy years after the purchase of the Wapontake and Manor of Sadberge, and their attachment to the See of Durham. The letters could not refer to Bishop Hatfield, who was Lord of the Wapontake 1345-81, nearly a century *later* than 1266. For years these two letters were a puzzle, and no Daniel appeared!

In the meantime, much evidence was found that this builder was a true iconoclast. On September 14th, 1894, a grave was dug on the site of this Norman Church, and, about one foot down, fragments of effigies were found, split by some sharp instruments, the fragment of a gargoyle blocking a drain. All these old stones were removed to the Rectory lawn and placed on its rockery.

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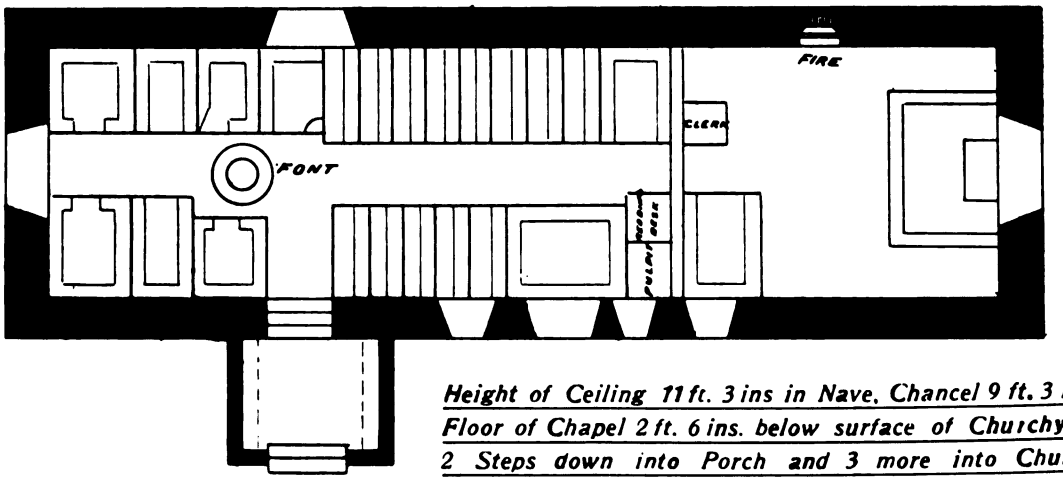
GROUND PLAN OF SADBERGE OLD NORMAN CHURCH

Taken February 1828.



Height of Ceiling 11 ft. 3 ins in Nave, Chancel 9 ft. 3 ins.
Floor of Chapel 2 ft. 6 ins. below surface of Churchyard
2 Steps down into Porch and 3 more into Church.

Stone dated 1266 from Old Norman Church built in South Wall of present Church, built 1831.

SCALE

0 10 20 30 FEET

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The mystery of these two letters remained unsolved, and I began to think they were insoluble. There is a proverb, "All things come to him who waits," and so it was with regard to the solution of this puzzle.

One morning, the late Major Priestman, a well-known monumental mason in Darlington, came on business to the Rectory, and thus explained the mystery: "The present Church was built by Geoffrey Bulmer, who was unable to carve, and all his carving the Priestmans executed, and probably the two letters are intended to represent his initials G.B." He was ambitious to live, hence this rude carving under this 1266 stone.

We believe this to be the true explanation. It is not every person who can link himself with the thirteenth century. Geoffrey's scheme was not a success, and none would suppose that these two letters under the Roman numerals represent the initials of the builder of the present Church, and the remover of a Saxon stone of very early date and a Norman carved stone to the kitchen of an inn in Darlington. Geoffrey's scheme to live, like many ambitious people's, went awry.

The stone bearing date 1266 has confirmation. (1) Bishop Kellaw's Register: "E turro (terrier) London, Dunelm, Ecclia., Sadberge Manor, 17 temp Ed. I." *

This is about 1287, or 21 years later than the date on this stone, 1266. It is 98 years later than the purchase of the Wapontake of Sadberge by Bishop Pudsey. This Bishop describes the Norman Church as "Mea Capella Sadburiæ."

These entries confirm the date on the stone, now in the chancel of Sadberge Church.

The following (I think) is from Surtees: "Et Eccl'iam de Derlington a fundamento construxit Sabergiam." An Oxford honours man translates: "And at Sadberge he collected a Church for Darlington from its foundation." The quotation has been sought for, but in vain, and the Latin is difficult, yet it refers to Bishop Pudsey.

A parcel of Parish papers were handed to me in 1887, and amongst these, fortunately, there is a plan drawn by Mr. Scotson, of Haughton, of the Norman Church, the date MCCLXVI.

This Norman Church had porch, nave, rood, and chancel. Its length from east to west was 65 feet 6 inches. Width, east end, 20 feet 4 inches; west end, 20 feet 11 inches. Its

* Kellaw's Registers, vol. iii. p. 207.

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builders relied on the eye and not on measures. Scotson's plan is dated 1828, four years before the Church was destroyed. Antiquarians can only regret this, for if this ancient Church was too small, why was it not enlarged? If the accommodation was sufficient, why was it not repaired? Its removal was an act of desecration, and that its stones should form part of an inn and embankments of the Skerne, is an act of inexcusable Vandalism. We deeply regret this desecration, and believe the Church could have been repaired, for its walls were 2 feet 6 inches in thickness. We give particulars of this Norman Church.

The *Chancel* had no window in the north wall. It had a fireplace on the north, 2 feet 6 inches. In the south wall were two Norman windows, one 2 feet outside and 4 feet inside, the other 1 foot 9 inches outside and 3 feet 6 inches inside.

Nave. On north wall there was only one window, exactly opposite the porch. According to the tradition that evil spirits haunted the north side of a Church, many object to be buried on the north side, and the Rector of Staindrop said this feeling was so strong in his parish that not until a member of the Cleveland family was buried on the north side could it be overcome. This northern window was 4 feet 2 inches by 5 feet 5 inches. On the south wall of the nave were four windows, one was 1 foot 6 inches by 3 feet 8 inches, another was 4 feet 9 inches by 1 foot 6 inches, another 3 feet 8 inches by 1 foot 6 inches, the fourth was 2 feet 10 inches by 1 foot 6 inches. From the nave floor to the roof was 11 feet 9 inches, from chancel floor to the roof 9 feet 3 inches. The Chancel, from the east wall to Rood, was 20 feet 5 inches; the width 16 feet. It was lighted by east and south windows. The altar was 4 feet by 2 feet 6 inches, and seems to have stood on a platform with rails surrounding. This platform seems to have been 8 feet 6 inches by 6 feet 2 inches.

Prayer Desk. This stood inside the Rood, on the north side of the chancel, and was 2 feet 7 inches by 3 feet. Opposite was a large pew, within the chancel, 8 feet 9 inches by 5 feet, seated on three sides, probably the Lord of the Manor's pew. The chancel, from the east wall to the Rood, was 20 feet 5 inches, about one-third of the entire space.

Rood Screen. The plan represents altar and Rood by *double* lines. The Rood was 15 feet in width, and was 40 feet from the west wall. The grave is silent, and I have only known one person who was a worshipper in this Norman Church. She was twenty-five years of age when it was taken away, but she declined to give any information, telling

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me that "it would be better if I was trying to save souls." Ignorance and prejudice can be rude!!

Nave. Adjoining the Rood, on the south, was a pew 7 feet 8 inches by 5 feet 9 inches. It had the light of two windows, seats on four sides. Strange that the plan shows no door. Perhaps it was the choir pew.

The east window was 5 feet outside and 6 feet 10 inches inside, but the west window was 5 feet outside and 5 feet 7 inches inside. From outside, east and west windows would seem alike, though dignity was added to the chancel because the east window was 1 foot 10 inches wider than the west window.

Nave Aisle. From the Rood westward the Aisle was 8 feet wide; from the porch step to the font, 4 feet wide. Against the north wall were eight pews, 6 feet 4 inches, and one the same size with seats on three sides. Four other pews, irregular in shape, were on the north nave wall, and there was only one window on the north side to give light—a characteristic of early churches. The prayer-desk adjoined the Rood and faced west; it was 3 feet by 2 feet 9 inches. The pulpit adjoined the Rood and prayer-desk; it faced west and was 2 feet 9 inches by 2 feet 10 inches. The material of the pulpit, prayer-desk and pews, is not stated, nor the Rood, but in all probability it was *black* oak, as can be seen at Mytton Norman Church. On the south wall were five pews, 7 inches less than those on the north wall, and the three pews west of the porch were all different in size. One pew, exactly opposite the font, and seated on its four sides, was probably the christening pew, *i.e.*, it was for persons who brought children for the Sacrament of Holy Baptism. Altogether, thirteen pews were on the north nave wall, eight of the same size and five of various sizes. On the south wall were nine pews, four of the same size and five of various sizes. The nave was lighted on the south by three windows up to the porch, and one window from the porch to the west wall—being meagrely lighted; yet from the porch to the chancel these three Norman windows would give sufficient light.

The Porch faced south and was almost a square—9 feet 4 inches by 7 feet. It was below the level of the ancient graveyard, and two steps, each 4 feet 4 inches by 6 feet 10 inches, led into it. The nave floor of the church was lower, and was reached by three steps. This level of the nave, lower than that of the graveyard, is not very surprising, as it had been in use from Saxon times.

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The Font was a very fine Norman, and circular. It was fully four feet in diameter at its base, and the basin was two feet in diameter. It stood in the nave, a little to the west of the porch. We have discovered the stones of this Norman church, but have been unable to find this Font. It must have been in the Norman church when the new church was consecrated, for in the accounts of this 1881 church is a charge of £2 for a *Font*. The old Norman church was used for services up to the consecration of the new church. What became of this Norman Font? As Bulmer could *not* use the base of the Finial Cross for building, because it was cruciform, he left it in the graveyard. He certainly could not use this circular Norman Font. What did he do with it? Perhaps some antiquarians will kindly discover this lost Norman Font in Sadberge Norman Church.

The Bells. The bells in the turret are pre-Reformation, and, like the place, have a history. A recent writer on Bells says:—"The origin of the Bell is lost in antiquity, but they began when men discovered the sonorous properties of metals, and probably handbells were the earliest. The earliest large bells were made of plates of metal, rivetted or brayed together. This form of bell was displaced by the hemispherical bell, which, in time, was followed by barrel-shaped bells, and this was the parent of our present church bells. Old bells are rare; many were recast, and many were destroyed at the Reformation. They were dedicated to God, the Virgin, the Saints, and their *Inscriptions* are remarkable, *e.g.*, Glastonbury:—'Our tones would have been deeper if contributions had been greater'; at Whittlesea:—'Prosperity to the Established Church, and no encouragement to enthusiasm.' Characteristic of Establishment? In casting, copper and tin were used—thirteen to four respectively. An idea existed that silver improved the tone, yet no metal has been found superior to copper, and the present form of bells is the accumulated experience of generations of bell-founders; the quality of tone depended on the composition of the bell metal, and also the shape, height, width and thickness of the bell."*

There were two pre-Reformation bells in the turret of Sadberge Norman Church, and in 1882 they were transferred to the present bell turret. They bore the following inscriptions:—

(i) "*Sancta Maria ora Nobis.*"

(ii) "*IES Campana Sancta Leonardi Confessoris.*"

* W. W. Starmer, Tunbridge Wells.

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Where did they come from? When were they brought to Sadberge? By whom? There is much mystery, yet we will suggest where and why. The Church is dedicated to St. Andrew, the Missionary Apostle, and neither bell has any link with St. Andrew. The bell dedicated to the Virgin is beautifully shaped, and was unfortunately cracked by careless ringing in 1876. It bears the founder's arms—a shield with three bells. Canon Fowler says a similar bell is at Pittington Church, in the Diocese of Durham. I regard it as not less than 450 years old; and Bishop Westcott, after carefully examining it, thought that it was certainly 400. We will suggest where it came from, and why Sadberge was chosen as its resting-place.

In 1587 there was a monastery on the banks of the Tees, at Neasham, dating back to the fourth year of King John, 1203. It was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, and its seal represents the Virgin seated on a throne, crowned, with a sceptre and the Infant Jesus in her lap. *Sigillum Sancti Maria Virginis de Neasham.* * Henry VIII commissioned Thomas Cromwell to suppress the greater and lesser monasteries. Neasham Monastery was a Benedictine, and linked with the Durham Benedictines. In 1587 four Commissioners visited Neasham and suppressed it. Its landed property was a farm of over 500 acres, at Little Burdon, and this they confiscated, and also its tithes, and both passed into lay hands. The visible effects to-day are that this once Church property is the only farm in the Parish of Sadberge *free from tithe.* Both farm and tithe are owned by a layman.

So much for the visible work of these 1587 robbers of Church property! The buildings they reduced to ruins; the chapel, dedicated to the Virgin, shared the same fate.

Sadberge for ages was a County—long the centre of government. Probably these four Commissioners thought it right to send the bell of the chapel to the Church on Sadberge Hill, the *county* centre; only a few miles distant, representing the County of Sadberge. I think this is the explanation why the bell is at Sadberge; and others can explain how it came to Sadberge Church if they disagree.

"Nesham, the surrender of which, *without signature*, December 9th, 1587, was suppressed by four Commissioners on the 21st day of the same month."†

"Nesham, the surrender of which, without signature, is dated December 9th, 1539, was suppressed by four

* Dugdale's *Monasticon.* † Record Office Book 246, folio 9.

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Commissioners on the 21st of the same month. It is a Benedictine nunnery."*

It may be, that early in 1538 this Virgin bell was sent to Sadberge Church; if so, we have two proofs of confiscation by these Commissioners existing in Sadberge parish:—

(i) Little Burdon Farm's and tithe confiscated and given to laymen;

(ii) Its Chapel Bell, sent to Sadberge Church.

That enquiries were made from Messrs. Taylor, the bell-founders, when it was cracked, is evident, for on October 3rd, 1906, they wrote: "As to the bell at Sadberge, if it is cracked, *it cannot be repaired.* It is usual to retain an old cracked bell and to substitute a new one. There are three pre-Reformation bells on the floor of Beverley Minster."† The Rector of Sadberge was blind when the bell was cracked, and had been for years non-resident, and the wardens sold the Maria bell to Mr. W. Lear. He supplied a new one. He informed me that as a native of Sadberge he wished to preserve the old bell from being broken up, and if ever Darlington possessed a museum to place it there. I urged that Sadberge should be its home. He agreed, and restored it on the following conditions:—

(i) That it should be placed in the vestry of Sadberge Church. This was done and it was so placed, supported by an iron hold-fast and secured by a chain in the wall.

(ii) A Parchment, with an inscription on it, secured to the bell, stating the donor and the conditions of the gift. This was done and signed by the Rector.

(iii) The facts and conditions were entered in the Parish Book, which records parochial events.

So we may hope none will remove this ancient bell—a relic of the long past—but respect this gift of a native to Sadberge.

We give a description of this Virgin Mary Bell by Mr. Blair, secretary to the Newcastle Society of Antiquarians.

"A rubbing of a pre-Reformation bell restored to Sadberge church, co. Durham. It bears the inscription '[cross] Sancta [shield on which 3 bells] Maria or.'

"In 1888 when I visited Sadberge church and described the communion plate (*Proc.* 2 ser., III, 290), I stated that there were two modern bells in the turret at the west end. In this I was mistaken, as the Rector informs me that one of the bells, that on the north, is pre-Reformation, and bears an invocation to St. Leonard; the other, however, is modern. There appears to have been a second pre-Reformation bell in the bell-cot, which, on account of its cracked

* Gasquet *Monasteries*, vol. ii, p. 228. † E. Denison Taylor.

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condition, had been discarded and sold. My attention having been drawn to this by a paragraph in the recently printed volume of *Proceedings* for 7 February, 1899 (p. 18), of the Darlington Naturalists Club, in which it was stated that Mr. Lear, a member, had rescued the bell when sold to him 'for old metal some years before, and had presented it to the Rector for restoration to the church.' I went over to Sadberge in company with my friend Mr. Wooler, and found the bell securely fixed in the vestry at the west end of the church. It is 16in. high to the shoulder, and 15in. diameter at the mouth. The bell is a good shape, with the inscriptions in black letter. The letters, which are badly formed and spaced, are reversed. A shield charged with three bells (2 and 1) is between Sancta and Maria. It is similar to the shield on one of the Pittington bells (*Proc.* III, 247), and is said to be the mark of the bell-founder, Richard Pette. The initial cross, which is floreated, is different from any on the Pittington bells, as are the Lombardic capitals. Beyond a doubt these two bells are those referred to in Edward VI's inventory, where the entry is 'the chapell of Sadberge, two bells in the stepill there.'

"The church is situate on an elevated mound which apparently has had a ditch on all its four sides.

"In the village, now used as a butcher's shop, is a curious barrel-vaulted building, which is said to have been the 'kitty' or lock-up.'"

Parchment Inscription on Virgin Bell in Sadberge Choir Vestry :—

"This bell was given by Mr. W. Lear, of Darlington, to Sadberge Church, on condition that it is secured in the Vestry of Sadberge Church, and not removed therefrom; which condition I, as Rector, accept, and attach this inscription on parchment on the bell, 1906.—W. L. TAYLOR."

In Bolden Buke (1183) is this entry :—"Sadberge Chapel, 1 Chalice 9 oz., 2 *Bells*. Haughton, 1 Chalice 8 oz., 2 Bells." The Norman Church was built in 1266; the date of the Bolden Buke is 1183, *i.e.*, 83 years earlier, therefore it is evident that the Saxon Church possessed two Bells.

The *St. Leonard* Bell. It is larger than the Virgin bell and has a deeper and fuller tone. Now there is a link between St. Leonard and Sadberge. For generations it was an *assize* town, with a gaol, sheriffs, and all the accessories of the administration of Justice—law courts, etc. St. Leonard was the patron saint of *Prisoners*. How many a Scot and Dane have listened to it as they were led away to Gallows Hill! It bore this inscription :—"*IES Campana Sancta Leonardi*." What is its age? Where did it come from? Interesting questions, difficult to answer! In the Bolden Buke (1183) it is stated, "Sadberge Chapel had 2 Bells." Is this Leonard bell one of these? Time seems to forbid this. We must admit its appropriateness in the Church of an assize town. We do not know its age.

It may be asked, Who was St. Leonard? "He was born of Frankish parents in the Court of Clovis, its king being his godfather. Having become a disciple of Remigius,

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he resolved to embrace the *religious* life, notwithstanding the opposition of the king. After some time spent in a monastery at Miey, near Orleans, he retired to a hermitage, near Limoges. Many flocked to Leonard, and a monastery rose, which was endowed by a successor of Clovis with as much of the forest as Leonard could ride round on his ass in a night. Here Leonard ruled, at the head of a flourishing community, till his death, about 599 A.D. He is said to have taken great interest in prisoners and induced the Emperor Clovis to redeem many. Hence he is regarded as the patron saint of prisoners."*

"St. Leonard was a Confessor, for he suffered for his religion—a courtier of King Clovis, converted by Remigius. He founded a monastery near Limoges, and is reputed to have often secured the liberation of prisoners from the king. He became the patron saint of prisoners. He also sought out and relieved prisoners and captives, performing Christ-like acts, and rescued many from slavery, and was regarded as the patron saint of all in captivity."†

There is a special significance in one of the old bells being dedicated to St. Leonard, the patron of prisoners and captives, Sadberge being an Assize town. The Virgin bell probably came from the Abbey at Neasham, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, the chief of all women, "whom all generations shall call *Blessed!*"

* Blunt. † Stephens on Prayer Book.

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SADBERGE CHURCH, PRESENT DAY (EXTERIOR).

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CHAPTER IV.

The Present Church.

This was erected in the Victorian period, when architecture was almost extinct.

In 1830, there stood on Sadberge hill a *Norman* Church dating back to 1266. That Ecclesiastical authorities did not suggest its repair, or restoration, is a mystery, but they actually *suggested* its removal, and one even offered to give £30 for this Norman Church. The Archdeacon, January 10th, 1829, writes to the minister at Sadberge: "I strongly recommend you to keep the old Chapel steadily in use, until the new building is complete. If you can enlarge the subscriptions, or diminish the cost, so as to justify a commencement this year, it will be desirable. I hope shortly to see the Chapel." Eventually the authorities gave away the Norman Church, and added £10 in money, to the builder of the Victorian Church, and he removed the Church of centuries!

The misuse of Church revenues led to the creation of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, by which a juster distribution of Church Endowments was brought about. And no small portion of the income of these Commissioners is derived from the Wapontake and Manor of Sadberge, which Bishop Pudsey had, in 1189, attached to the See of Durham, by purchase from Richard I.

The Commissioners assisted (1) to form new Parishes; (2) build new Churches; (3) erect Vicarages; (4) provide Curates, giving a new impetus to Church extension. Still, it is very remarkable how little, from 1836 to 1890, they did for the Parish of Sadberge, although they derived so much from its Wapontake and Manor.

I gladly testify to the consideration shown to me, as Rector of Sadberge, since I discovered its *local* claims, by their Secretaries.

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In the Act constituting the Commissioners, a clause forbids them giving more to a Parish than they *receive* from it. Now Sadberge is not merely agricultural, but has no mineral deposits, and what they receive from Sadberge itself dates back to Saxon times, and before Bishop Pudsey purchased the Wapontake and Manor in 1189. What amount the Commissioners actually received from the Parish of Sadberge was a puzzle. So it would have remained, but I discovered they received £24 per annum in *Bishop's* rents, which carries us back to Saxon times, when Burgages paid for their *Houses* to the Saxon lord.

No aid was rendered to Sadberge by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners in the erection of a Rectory, for this reason, and £900 was borrowed from Queen Anne's Bounty to provide a House. In 1889 this mortgage had been reduced to less than £300, yet it entailed a heavy charge, and did not leave the Rector £150 per annum, when all the charges had been paid. Unfortunately, Bishop Lightfoot was seriously ill, though he supported, by letter, my application to the Commissioners to pay off the charge. I was unknown to Archbishop Thomson, but I laid the case before him, and though he supported my application, it failed. "Nil desperandum" is an excellent motto when people are disinclined to grant even justice. The application was renewed the following year, and the first to notify me that my application was granted was the Archbishop of York. I am glad to testify to this act of kindness to a parish outside his Grace's diocese.

The existence of the aforesaid clause explains why the Commissioners made no grants to the Parish of Sadberge until 1889, but since then they have added £25 per annum to the endowment.

Experience has taught me that if the Church had not been a Divine Society it would long ago have disappeared, like the Norman Church. Look at the facts of 1829. The Archdeacon urges the minister to *remove* the Norman Church as *soon* as the new one is consecrated, and the Rector of Haughton offers £80 for the Norman Church, and twice a year visits his parish to receive his tithes, pays the Curate of Haughton £100 per annum as stipend, through his bank manager, and the Minister of Sadberge also £80 per annum, and then returns to discharge the duties of Bodleian Librarian at Oxford. We give his letter to the Minister at Sadberge:—

In consequence of the dilapidated state of the Chapel at Sadberge, and the *impossibility* of repairing it, the Archdeacon has called upon the Rector to take such steps as may seem most desirable towards the

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SADBERGE CHURCH, PRESENT DAY (INTERIOR).

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speedy erection of a *new Chapel*. The Rector is anxious to attain this desirable object without calling upon the parish for any rates, as it is already much burthened by the number of poor persons. For this purpose the following subscriptions have been entered into, and as soon as the Rector can learn from the residents in the parish, and their kind neighbours, the amount of their subscriptions, he intends to apply for further assistance from the Society in London. He hopes to be able to proceed to the work in time to have it roofed in before the winter, but in order to do this no time must be lost. He most earnestly begs all such as can, and are willing to contribute towards so desirable and necessary an undertaking, will enter their names on the list.

BULKELEY BANDINEL, D.D.,
Rector of Haughton-with-Sadberge.

He adds a subscription list. Dr. Bandinel's list amounted to £465 19s. 0d., amongst which were three subscriptions of £100 each, the Curate of Haughton £10, the Rev. D. Piper £5, Sir Wm. Pennyman £70, Mr. Pallister £10, Mr. Davison £20, Mr. Richmond £10, and smaller sums. The Rev. D. Piper increased these subscriptions to £689 4s. 2½d.

The cost of the new Church was £767 7s. 0d. It is worthy of note that amongst the items is £2 for a font.

It is quite evident that the Norman Church was standing when the new Church was consecrated. The question arises, what became of the Norman font? Bulmer could not use it in the erection of houses or walls. It was a massive font. We have found no traces of this ancient font where Bulmer used the Norman materials.

There remained a debt of £128 2s. 9½d. on the new Church; yet it must have been guaranteed, though no evidence can be found by whom or when it was paid. We give a few items of its cost:—

	£	s.	d.
Stones	178	10	4
Timber	114	0	1
Joiner	112	8	2
Slater and Mason	73	5	2
Plumber	80	18	4
Ramshaw, Clerk of Works ...	50	0	0
Ramshaw for Plans	4	0	0
Petition for Consecration ...	1	0	0
Font	2	0	0
	£566	2	1

This is a copy of the accounts, yet there is nearly £200 difference. We cannot explain it, and the parties are all dead, yet in 1831 Sadberge Church was cheap at a cost of £767 7s. 0d. It was and is a good, sound stone building, solidly built, and stone is not very accessible.

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In the list of subscribers is an interesting item showing the cost of postage in 1831. Lord Durham subscribed £1, yet is only credited with 19s., as 1s. is deducted for *postage*!

The new Church accommodated 218 persons.

The Rev. R. M. Moorsom left this record: "Ramshaw was architect; Fletcher, of Morton, the contractor; the stones were from the Bishop's quarry, and the entire cost £797 7s. 8d., and that it was consecrated by Bishop Van Mildert, September 23rd, 1831." Mr. Piper says it cost £767 7s. 0d., and he was minister in 1831.

Sadberge Church Communion Plate.

(1) *Silver*, 1825. The Chalice bears this inscription: "Bulkeley Bandinel, S.T.P. Rector, et Robertus Feetham. Guardianus. Capellæ de Sadberge. A.D. 1825." The Paten Silver is similarly engraved. This Service was in use six or seven years prior to the removal of the Norman Church. Probably an ancient Communion Service was in use, but where it is none can tell, as Sadberge has suffered greatly by lack of reverence for antiquity. This Service is enclosed in a substantial oak box.

(2) *R. H. Allan's Plate*, 1889. Mr. R. H. Allan, Blackwell Grange, by will left £100 to eighteen Churches in parishes where he owned land, to provide Communion Services to each parish, and Sadberge was one of the eighteen parishes. Particulars: *Flagon*, weighs 61 oz.; *Chalices*, two, each 21 oz.; *Patens*, two each, 25 oz.; *Alms Dish*, 22 oz. The design is embossed Camden. It is in a heavy oak chest, and has a brass plate: "Dedicated to the Church at Sadberge, *persuant* to the will of R. H. Allan, of Blackwell Hall, 1889." I drew the attention of Harrison, who had supplied the plate, to the misspelling, and he said if I would bring the box it should be altered. No man could carry it, so "*per*" remains.

The Church of England knows very little how much it owes to the beneficence of its clergy. I was curate to one, an excellent scholar, who said: "All the Church does for me is to find a house where I can lay my head." His clerical income was £120 per annum, and I received this as stipend; so in Sadberge its minister served over thirty years for £80 per annum, and yet he provided £30 to build the Church.

George Stokell owned a garden adjacent to the graveyard. He emigrated to Van Diemen's Land in 1821, and his wife offered the garden to Mr. Piper for £30, and he bought it. At Mr. Piper's death in 1832, his nephew claimed the garden,

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and £20 was paid and the land conveyed as an addition to the churchyard, the then Rector subscribing almost one-half the sum.

The Rector was the Rev. R. M. Moorsom, who held decided Church principles, and he makes the following entry in the Register: "I, Robert Maude Moorsom, who took the trouble to collect the £20, solemnly declare that had I had any idea that Dissenters would, by getting an Act of Parliament, force their way into Church land and hold schismatic services there, I would have conveyed the land to Trustees, and not to the Minister and Churchwardens for a burial ground, where the services of the Church, and none other, should be used.—R. M. Moorsom, 1880."

Mr. Piper was small in stature, and passed his ministerial life chiefly in charge of Sadberge Chapel, yet he has left proof of devotion and self-sacrifice, enduring work known only to God, and in writing this History, his patience and endurance in well-doing have amazed me. We add a brief memoir of this unknown minister at Sadberge.

He was born October 19th, 1796, at Colne Engaine, Essex. He bore his father's name, and his mother's maiden name was Dixon. The family was well connected, his uncle being M.P. for the City of London. He was trained at St. Bees, which had a famous theological teacher as its head. Bishop Van Mildert ordained him at Grindon Parish Church, in 1827. Mr. Carter Squire, who recently died at Catterick, was a scholar at Sedgefield Rectory, and witnessed the ordination. In 1829 Mr. Piper became minister at Sadberge. His stipend was £80 per annum. He held no other cure.

By the kind permission of the proprietors of *Punch*, we are permitted to give its famous cartoon, *re* Bishop Villiers appointing his *son-in-law*, the Rev. E. Cheese, Rector of Haughton-le-Skerne, worth £1,500 per annum. Mr. Piper, minister for thirty years at Sadberge, on £80 per annum, also appears.

In 1861 Haughton-le-Skerne Rectory, adjoining Sadberge, was vacant by Dr. Bandinel's death. Bishop Villiers, as Bishop of Durham, was Patron. He appointed his son-in-law, the Rev. E. Cheese, his chaplain, to the vacancy. As he was only about thirty years of age, it was greatly canvassed. Caricature is a powerful weapon, and the principal cartoon in *Punch* represented the table at Auckland Castle, loaded with good things, and a huge Stilton cheese in its centre. The portly Bishop was represented pouring old port wine into the Stilton. Mr. Piper is represented imploring the Bishop and saying: "My Lord, I should like

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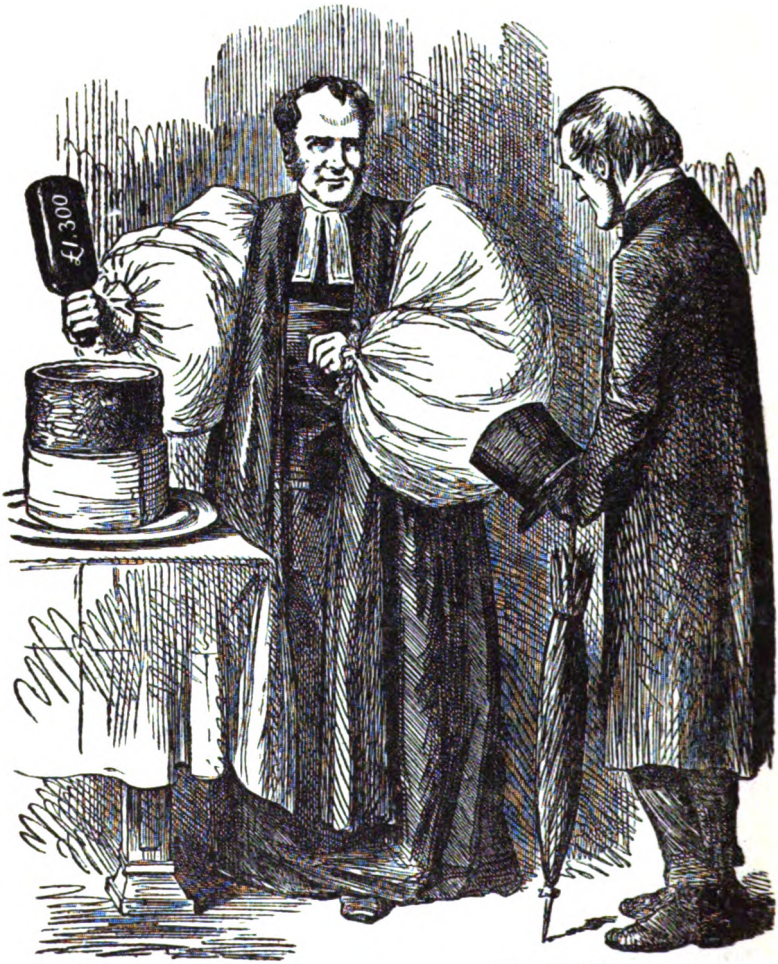
some of that port." The Bishop replies: "I want it all for my cheese." Rumour says 250 copies of this *Punch* were delivered one morning at Auckland Castle. The fact is that the Bishop died at Auckland, August 9th, 1861.



[By permission of *Punch*, 1861.

Mr. Piper (Curate of Sadberge for 30 years, at £80 per annum): "My Lord, I should like some of that port."

Bishop Villiers: "I want it all for my cheese."

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We resume Mr. Piper's history. He entered his name on the books of Queen's College, Cambridge, and after fulfilling the conditions, in ten years proceeded to his M.A. degree. Naturally he desired a permanency, and visited his uncle, the London M.P., and asked his help to a benefice. "Well, David, it only requires two or three words." "What are they?" asked David. "Lord, remember David." The uncle must have been a wag.

However, in 1861, Sadberge became an incumbency, but no endowment was secured. Few can live on nothing, and the appointment lapsed to the Crown. It is likely that the uncle remembered David, for the Crown nominated the man who for thirty-two years had diligently discharged its spiritual duties. He was so overjoyed that he took a holiday at Boulogne, and died there, never being even incumbent of Sadberge, only nominated, and for thirty-two years its faithful priest.

Who liquidated the £120 of debt in 1832 we do not know, but it is not an unknown thing in the Church of England to leave the parson to be the mendicant of the parish, and the butt of the wit, that he is always after money, though frequently he has to pay.

The Bishop who consecrated Sadberge Church was a remarkable man—Van Mildert, 1826-1836.

(1) He was the last Bishop of Durham, in a long line of Prince Bishops, since 1189. It had long been customary for the Prince Bishop to enter his Diocese at Croft, the boundary of the Counties of York and Durham. Here the Lord of Sockburn presented the Bishop with an ancient "Falchion," which slew the Dragon, which devoured the fish in the Tees, and having presented it as a sign of fealty, the Bishop handed it back to the Lord of Sockburn. The year 1826 was the last time that this ceremony was enacted.

(2) He founded the University of Durham, and a scholarship keeps his name green.

(3) He was a great scholar and remarkable plurist.

(4) He was remarkable for hospitality, and during the Durham Assizes, on four public days, entertained 300 guests to dinner. October 3rd, 1827, he entertained three remarkable men, Sir Walter Scott, Sir Thomas Lawrence, the famous painter, and the Duke of Wellington. "The host showed scholarship without pedantry, dignity without ostentation,"* is Scott's record in his Diary.

The present Church has been so changed that its builders would not recognise it, many causes contributing to this.

* *Memories of Scott*, vol. vii, pp. 71-4.

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(1) *Storms.* It is very exposed, occupying the highest point of the hill, and in 1888-9 the large stones of the bell turret fell on the roof, damaging the beam, and the effects are to be seen, first, over the north-western window; secondly, in the crossbar of the beam, which is not in line with the other crossbars. A line, in pencil, on a spar records: "In 1839 a flat ceiling was added." The Rev. R. M. Moorsom records: "In 1839 the wardens made a flat ceiling."* Another storm, in 1874, so seriously damaged the windows that it was arranged to remove the Norman windows, and insert Early English ones. A Newcastle architect was engaged. The parishioners raised £156 for the nave windows, and the Rector gave the east window.

(2) *Organ.* In 1872 Messrs. Forster & Andrews erected an organ at a cost of £101 5s. 0d.; this was chiefly contributed by landowners.

In 1884 a new flat ceiling supplanted the 1839 ceiling. The original beams of the roof were made to appear three inches broader than they were, by nailing boards to the beams. Squares were made of the space between the beams. This was split into circles and squares, and the whole made to be very heavy, with no ventilation, and this monstrosity cost over £100!

It is a fact that neither architects, nor rectors, nor wardens, up to 1887, ever thought it necessary to provide this very exposed building with troughing or spouting, to convey the water from its walls, and the wardens said: "To provide either was a waste of money, as the Church stood on sand." So its walls were black with damp. Troughing and spouting were provided in 1887.

Decoration of *Chancel.* Mr. Hemming, artist, London, and a pupil of Clayton & Bell, was commissioned to execute the work in 1889. Bishop Westcott approved of the choice, and said Mr. Hemming was always most careful. An Egyptian dado ran round the Chancel walls, the lower part painted Indian red and above in cream colour, surmounted with a border in various colours.

A two-light window had been inserted in the south wall by the Rector, and he gave Mr. Hemming a commission to insert two figures representing St. John the Evangelist and St. John the Baptist. The colouring is good, and the contrast between the gentle Apostle and austere Messenger is very striking. An inscription reads:—"This

* MS. Book.

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TWO-LIGHT WINDOW,
IN THE SOUTH CHANCEL.

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window was inserted by the Rector of this parish, in memory of his parents, John and Jane Taylor, of Burnley, 1889."

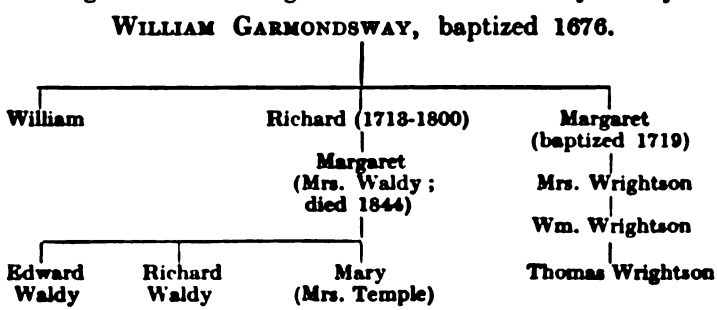
In 1890 the heavy flat ceiling of 1884 was removed, and the open roof restored.

Garmondsway Window. The east window was inserted in 1892 by the Garmondsway family. Perhaps this family is one of the oldest in the County of Durham; tradition links it with the invasion of the Normans.

John Royston, a book written by a member of the family, states:—"Tower Hill, Middleton-One-Row, compares its Danish Camp, as made by a warrior-son of Harold Haarfinger, King of Norway, as of Danish origin, and associated it with the famous Gormand, whose name has been enshrined in the local Garmondsway, a district lying some twelve miles north on the Rynkneild Street, past Tower Hill and over Pountey's Bridge."

Some members of this family were residents in Sadberge, and were landowners, and held official positions as wardens and officials connected with the Assizes and the administration of the law. Amongst the list of freeholders in 1684 is the name of Thomas Garmondsway, the heir of John Garmondsway, who was afflicted with blindness; and the name is frequent as chapel-warden in the oldest register, two hundred years ago. Richard Garmondsway died April 7th, 1764, aged 73, and Hannah, his wife, died October 8th, 1762. The Garmondsway vault is to the south of the present Church, and a parishioner who died lately said:—"When I was a boy the Garmondsway tomb was so near the wall of the Norman Church that I frequently climbed on to it, to look into the nave of the Church." The representative of the Garmondsway family is Sir Thomas Wrightson, Bart., Neasham Hall.

We give a *short Pedigree* of the Garmondsway family:—



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In 1889 the troughing and spouting of the Church and the painting of the chancel and its stained-glass windows were the first steps in retrieving the Church from its neglected condition.

The chancel was seated with oak choir-stalls in 1890, and an oak pulpit, the organ enlarged—a separate swell and distinct pedal organ added at a cost of over £300.

In 1897 a *Lych Gate* was placed at the north entrance of the churchyard; the four posts of solid oak were 8½ inches by 7½ inches thick, bedded in cement sockets, and on the front beam "Mors ad Vitam Vita" was carved; on the opposite beam, "1897." Bishop Westcott dedicated the Lych Gate in the presence of the Rector and Clergy, amongst whom were the present Bishops of Kimberley and Dover, then Vicars of St. John's and St. Hilda's, Darlington. Mr. Hall, Sadberge, erected it, and the design was the Rector's.

South Porch. The first tender was over £150, and as only £50 was provided, the scheme was delayed for lack of funds.

Miss Adamson was infant mistress for thirty years on the meagre salary of £26 per annum. She was an admirable teacher, and her good manners were reflected in her scholars. Cancer terminated her career quickly—in a fortnight after her resignation. Her will left the residue of her estate to the Porch Fund. This amounted to £51 3s. 7d. A brass inside the Church states:—"The adjoining Porch was erected by Mrs. Wooler's subscription of £50, as a memorial to her husband; and Miss Adamson, by will, left the residue of her estate—£51 3s. 7d.—to its erection; and the remainder by subscription, 1904." The total cost was £123 11s. 8d.; Mrs. Hedley giving the tiles. ["At the Rector's request, I have gone through the vouchers and accounts and find them correct.—G. T. ALDERSON, Sidesman."]

The Porch was dedicated December 13th, 1904, by the Bishop of Durham (Dr. Moule).

THE CONSECRATION PRAYER.

"O Almighty God, the Giver of all good gifts, Who delightest to be present in the assembly of Thy people, let Thy blessing, we beseech Thee, rest upon this Porch, which we now dedicate for the incoming and outgoing of Thy worshippers at this Thy holy house. Do Thou

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LYCH GATE, SADBERGE CHURCH.

SOUTH PORCH, SADBERGE CHURCH.

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evermore lead them in at this door in the spirit of holy fear and adoring love and faith, and lead them out thence to glorify Thee by the manifestation of Thy grace and blessing in their lives. Hear us, we humbly beseech Thee, through Him who is our way to Thee, and the eternal door of the heavenly fold, Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."

Brasses in South Porch :—

(i) Gives a list of Ministers up to 1911 ; another records the links with Saxon and Norman times.

(ii) A Carved Stone on the west side of the door, which is Saxon and probably about ninth century, represents Adam and Eve in the Garden.

(iii) A Carved Stone on the east side of the porch door, much weathered, represents "Our Lord triumphing over Satan." This is Norman and probably dates from 1266.

(iv) The Old Stoup is in its original position, when in the Norman Church, and dates from 1266.

(v) Base of Finial Cross on the Norman Church, is now used as the base of the Finial Cross on the Choir Vestry.

New Choir Vestry. Provided in 1904, and fitted with wardrobe for cassocks and surplices for the Choir. In this Vestry is the Virgin Mary Bell, pre-Reformation, and restored to the Church by Mr. W. Lear, now secured by a chain to the wall, and a parchment stating Mr. Lear's conditions. *Ad Eternam Floreat.* Before placing these Brasses in the Porch, I consulted Canon Greenwell, and I give his reply :—

DURHAM, *July 14th*, 1909.

DEAR MR. TAYLOR,

The placing of Tablets in the Church is a very meritorious thing to do, and may be advantageously followed by others. I wish I could add to the list, but I have no more information than you have brought together, and I have been twenty-four weeks in bed.

Yours sincerely,

WM. GREENWELL.

Stained Glass. All the windows are by Hemming (London).

Chancel. Its East Window was given by the Garmondsway family. The South Chancel Window by the Rector, in memory of his parents.

Nave Windows.

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Dorcas Window. This is Norman, and the only window remaining of the Church as it was in 1881. It represents "*Dorcas*," and is the gift of Mrs. Taylor, in memory of her mother, Mary Salt, 1889. It is a good example of Mr. Hemming's skill.

St. Hilda and *Bede* Window. This is on north side of the nave, and perpetuates the famous missionary and ecclesiastical historian of the Saxon Church. The window is the gift of Miss Graham, to the memory of her parents, Peter and Hannah Graham, natives of Sadberge.

I gladly avail myself of recording the faithful service of Hannah Graham to the best interests of the Church of her native village. Long before I knew her, she worked in the Sunday School, was librarian, secretary to clothing club, and always ready for every good work. My earnest desire to reform abuses—not very popular in certain quarters, where "as it was in the beginning" is the perfect condition—led to it being desirable that my warden should be in sympathy. I took counsel, and the appointment of Miss Graham as Rector's warden was the result. For twenty years there never existed a more faithful, quiet and unobtrusive warden, and when three medical men urged my resignation, she urged me to defer "until I am gone," yet *necessitas non legem noscit.* I resigned in 1911, and recently, at the age of 86 years, she passed into the higher and nobler life.

Windows on South Side. (1) A two-light window with life-size figures of St. Oswald and St. Cuthbert, the Christian Missionary King, and the Patron Saint of Durham. Thus these north and south windows represent the four chief characters of the early Saxon Church. It is not a mere theory that probably they planted a Christian Church in Saxon Sadberge.

(2) The *Bethany* Window.

All the windows are by Mr. Hemming. I gave him this commission in 1910; it is a thank-offering to God for family mercies.

The inscription is:—"Laus Deo has Deo gratias dat Guilelmus Lancaster Taylor, hugus parochiæ 23 annos Rector, cui filii tres Augustinus Robertus, et Haroldus Lancaster, et Johannes Horatius Newsham, Universitatis Oxeniensus Magistari, patriæ more in Sanctæ Ecclesiæ Ministerium dediti MCMX."

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NORMAN WINDOW.

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The Bishop of Durham dedicated the window, and prayed :—

"Almighty Lord and Heavenly Father, we humbly dedicate to the adornment of Thy holy House, and in thankful remembrance of the many years of the ministry within it of Thy servant William Lancaster Taylor, the Window now presented to this Church at Sadberge. Grant, we beseech Thee, that it may keep in abiding recollection the days that are past, and also by the message delivered through its design lift the hearts of those who behold it upwards and onwards to the world where the radiance of Thy glory and the beauty of Thy presence fill the City and Temple of the Saints. Hear us, we humbly beseech Thee, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."

This was followed by the anthem, "Happy is the man that findeth wisdom" (Prov. iii. 13). The Bishop preached from Eph. v. 25, "As Christ loved the Church and gave Himself for it." This window is remarkable for its beauty of colouring and is a copy of one greatly admired by Bishop Fraser, in Baxenden Church, and also painted by Mr. Hemming.

There has been expended in repairing and beautifying this Church, from 1889 to 1911, over £1,200, and there is no debt. "Laus Deo!" We pray, "Ecclesia Floreat!"

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CHAPTER V.

SADBERGE NOT A CHAPEL OF EASE.

THE popular idea is that Sadberge was a Chapel of Ease to Haughton. This really rests on no historic fact. We shall try to consider the evidence for and against this theory.

(1) *Hutchinson's* History of Durham. "Sadberge Chapelry.—This is a Chapel of Ease to Haughton, dedicated to S. Andrew, *not in charge, nor certified.*" * It is significant, the clause "not in charge, nor certified."

(2) *Longstaff.* "Pudsey was possessed of Royal sway in the Palatinate, and had power to erect a free Chapel and annex it."† None will question Pudsey's power. Yet did he exercise it? There is little doubt a Chapel existed long before Pudsey, in Saxon times.

(3) *Dr. Greenwell,* one of the most learned Durham antiquarians, said to me: "Sadberge was never a Chapel of Ease to Haughton, and no legal documents exist in Durham." He was for years Dean and Chapter Librarian, and *the* Authority.

(4) *Canon Fowler.* "Probably, Sadberge was a *Bishop's peculiar.*"

Further let us consider the *history* of the two places.

(1) *Haughton.* "Styr, son of Ulphus, by permission of the Saxon King Ethelred, 999 A.D., gave to the See of S. Cuthbert, Haughton, Barmpton, Great Burdon." These places were linked with the See, when its seat was at Chester-le-Street.

(2) *Sadberge* was from early Saxon times the centre of the Saxon Wapontake, and linked with Saxon kings. Ethelred, who permitted the before-named places to be added to S. Cuthbert, was at the time King of Sadberge, and it was the centre of his government. A Saxon Church existed in early Saxon times at Sadberge, and it was the King's private chapel. These prerogatives of the Saxon kings, the Norman kings claimed. Henry II, 1154, speaks of Sadberge "*De*

* Vol. iii, p. 176. † History of Darlington.

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dominio meo." Now when Bishop Pudsey, in 1189, purchased the Wapontake and Manor of Sadberge from Richard I, he linked both to the See of Durham, and the Saxon Church became the Bishop's private chapel. The successors of Bishop Pudsey claim it as "Mea Capella"—Bishop Poer (1228), Kellaw (1811)—and the latter ordered a candelabra to be made for "Mea Capella Sadburie."

Sadberge was indeed "peculiar." Through the ages it preserved its individuality, kept distinct from Haughton, until Bishop Barnes appointed his brother Rector of Haughton and the Bishop's Steward; yet its individuality was preserved. It was not like ancient Grindon, absorbed in Thorpe Thewles, nor like Stockton, lost in Norton, nor like Barnard Castle, absorbed in Gainford, nor the Hartlepools, lost in Hart, nor the two Shields, absorbed in Jarrow, nor Alnwick, lost in Lesbury. It is true history that Sadberge Church from Saxon times retained its individuality, and was, in Hutchinson's language, "not in charge nor certified."

In a passage previously quoted from the *Encyclopædia Brittanica:* "*Except Sadberge,*" means that in all matters relating to Sadberge they were reserved to the King, as royal privilege up to 1189, and when Pudsey purchased these rights, the Church at Sadberge became, in the language of Dr. Fowler, a *Bishop's Peculiar.*

The Bishop of Durham, as Lord of the Wapontake of Sadberge, maintained a priest for his Chapel, and also paid for its services, *e.g.:* "In stipendo Capellani celebrantes in Capelli castro. (20/8.) In cena (wax) empta ad Capellani. (2s.)"*

It is not until the fifteenth century that we find any links of Sadberge with Haughton.

In 1492, Robert Chambers (Serviens et Capellanus Episcopi), late Treasurer of the Household, Surveyor of all the Bishop's lands by patent, was made Rector of Haughton. This priest had been Chaplain at the Bishop's private chapel at Sadberge, and later Rector of Haughton. This appointment was made in 1492, and Bishop Shirwode, who made it, died at Rome in 1494. Yet there is no mention of Sadberge being a Chapel of Ease to Haughton.

The Lords of the Wapontake of Sadberge selected its historic hill as the centre of government, and also erected on it a Church, and its position, for defensive purposes, was formidable. Now Haughton, from early times, had its Church on a site not suitable for defensive purposes. Moreover, the independence of Sadberge was carefully preserved by the Lords of the Wapontake, who guarded

* Kellaw's Register.

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their ancient rights through the ages, until, in 1856, Bishop Maltby proposed that his private chapel should become a Parish Church, which was realised in 1861.

The independence of Sadberge is seen in mediæval Ordination Lists.

(1) *Richard de Bury* (1333-45). The Bishop of Carlisle, acting for the Bishop of Durham, held an Ordination, April 6th, 1334, for acolytes. He ordained twenty-six acolytes, amongst them Thomas de Sadberge, Johannes de Haighton. There is no mention of Sadberge as a Chapel to Haughton, nay, Sadberge takes *precedence*. If the list was alphabetical Haighton would be before Sadberge. Sadberge was the Bishop's private chapel, and therefore takes precedence over Haughton.

(2) *Ordination of Bishop Hatfield*, 1345-81.

(*a*) An ordination on St. Thomas' Day (1335) to the "Ordinis Mendicantium" (Begging Friars) "Thomas of Saddibery" was admitted. There is no mention of Haughton.

(*b*) Ordination (1342) to the Order of "Acolytes"—Thomas de Sadbery was admitted.

(*c*) Ordination on Feast of St. Matthew (1342), by Bishop Bizaceia, acting for the Bishop of Durham, thirty Acolytes were ordained. Amongst them is Robertus de Sadbery (p. 291b). This ordination on St. Matthew's Day (1342) was not merely for acolytes, but twenty-four priests were ordained in Cathedra Dunelmi. Amongst these twenty-four priests is *Wilhelmus de Kelsey*. To his name appears "Ad titulum V Marcarium de Johannes, Waryn de Sadberge." This is remarkable evidence that Sadberge was independent of Haughton. From this it appears John Waryn was priest in charge at Sadberge, for he gives Kelsey a title for priest's orders and guarantees his stipend, and Kelsey was ordained priest at Sadberge, and Waryn guarantees a stipend.

(*d*) At an ordination at Durham (1344) of *Sub*-Deacons, Robert de Sadbery was admitted Sub-Deacon on the titulum de Gilbert de Burdon, Presbyteri with V Marcarium. Again there is no mention of Haughton. This ordination was as Sub-Deacon, and therefore not to say Masses.

These ordinations show that Sadberge was independent of Haughton.

Probably many in the Middle Ages sought minor orders to avoid secular courts, and enjoy the privileges of the clergy.

The mark, in 1344, was of considerable value, considering its purchasing power. It is noteworthy that in the ordinations and payment of clerics the Rector of Haughton is never mentioned.

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The titles to ordination and stipends are given by priests of Sadberge, clear and distinct proof that Sadberge was independent of Haughton.

We give a copy of the return made by a Jury in 1650, in Stockton Ward, during the Commonwealth :—

"The *Parish* of Sadberge. Wee find that the Chappelrye of Sadberge belongs to the parish of Haughton in Darnton Ward, the glebe apperteying to the said Chappelrye, and in the possession of Mr. Hutton, present Curate *there*, is valued to seven pounds per annum. We also find that all the Tythes belonging to the said Chappelrye, in the possession of the said Mr. Hutton, is twenty-three pounds per annum (p. 450). So we ffinde both Glebe and Tythe to the value of thirty pounds per annum. Deducted and payed out of the sayd Tythes to the Parsonage of Eaglescliffe, fforty shillings per annum; paid for prediall Tythes to the Parsonage of Long Newton, thirty shillings per annum. The inhabitants of Sadberge desire that the said Chappell may be made a Parish Church."*

Let us note (1) these Commissioners head their report with : "*Parish* of Sadberge," yet end with a request that it be made a Parish ! (2) They state "The Chappelrye *belongs to Haughton*." It certainly did not in 1650.

Later we hope to show that Bishop Barnes, between 1572 and 1587, whilst Bishop of Durham, appointed his brother, John Barnes, Rector of Haughton, and rid *himself* of the spiritual duties by requesting his brother to discharge them, yet no *legal* transfer took place. It is not, therefore, surprising that in 1650 these Commissioners describe Sadberge as belonging to Haughton.

It is remarkable that the minister at Sadberge received his £80 *from Sadberge*, not Haughton. Further, there is a remarkable proof that in 1578 Sadberge was not attached to Haughton, for in the Chancellor's Visitation (1578), "Sadberge Capellæ," the entry "*Warden* of Sadbury" is struck out. Why ? Because it was not a Parish, but a Bishop's Peculiar, a private chapel, and could have no Wardens. The payments to Eaglescliffe and Long Newton ceased about 1880, yet they are evidence against Sadberge being attached to Haughton.

Probably the historic fact is : "The Saxon kings, on account of the strategic position of the Hill of Sadberge, carefully preserved the place as a royal preserve, and when a Church arose, in Saxon times, both Saxon and Norman reserved their royal rights in State and Church to themselves, hence the clause in *Encyclopædia Brittanica:* "*Except*

* Extracted from *Parliamentary Survey*, vol. iv, pp. 149-50 (Lambeth Library).

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Sadberge." * In 1189 Bishop Pudsey linked both Wapontake and Manor to the See of Durham. The Bishop had a residence at Darlington, which had come to him through St. Cuthbert, and through whom he inherited Haughton, Barmpton, Burdon. Sadberge had come through *Saxon* kings, and the privileges of the Chapel at Sadberge were very carefully guarded. The Bishops ordained men, during the Middle Ages, to discharge spiritual functions in their Chapel at Sadberge.

The successors of Bishop Pudsey exercised their rights as Lords of the Wapontake and Manor of Sadberge constantly, they were not allowed to lapse. Bishop Poer (1228-1237) had a cross made out of a wreck, which was his perquisite as Lord of the Saxon Wapontake, and set up *Sadbury Cross*. Bishop Kellaw (1311-16), as Lord of the Wapontake of Sadberge, claimed a wreck at Hartlepool, and ordered a Candelabra for "Mea Capella Sadburiæ."

Bishop Shirwode was Bishop 1485 to 1494, and he died at Rome. Amongst clergy at Haughton in 1492 was "Robert Chambers"—Serviens et Capellanus Episcopi. Now Chambers had been Treasurer of the Bishop's Household, Surveyor of the Bishop's lands, for which his patent is dated February 24th, 1491. Bishop Shirwode made him Rector of Haughton, and attached the spiritual duties of his Chapel at Sadberge to Chambers, not as part of the Parish of Haughton, but as "Serviens et Capellanus *Episcopi*" (this is remarkable).

It is not till Bishop Barnes, nearly a century later, that you find this entry, "Sadburie annexed to Haughton," yet no legal documents exist, and Canon Greenwell said: "It was never a Chapel of Ease to Haughton."

Queen Elizabeth was imperious. In 1575 she found a suitable and pliable occupant for the See of Durham. Other sovereigns had to battle with Bishops, Lords of the Palatinate, who defended their historic rights. She translated Bishop Barnes from Carlisle to the See of Durham, and he became Lord of the Wapontake and Manor of Sadberge and proved submissive to the Queen. He appoints his brother, John Barnes, Rector of Haughton, Chancellor of the Palatinate, and Steward of the Wapontake and Manor of Sadberge. Canon Greenwell thought the brothers made a private agreement for the Rector of Haughton to discharge the duties at Sadberge, but they took care *no legal* documents exist. Succeeding Rectors accepted the duties and made no enquiries, and this is why Hutchinson adds "*not in charge.*" This opinion is confirmed, for in 1577

* *Ency. Britt.*, vol. ix, p. 475.

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John Nicholson is licensed "Curate at Sadberge." It is to be noted: not Curate in charge, nor Curate of the Chapel of Ease, but *Curate at Sadberge, i.e.:* a Priest in *Residence* in Sadberge to discharge the spiritual duties of the Bishop's private chapel. It is probable that from 1187 to 1577 spiritual duties at Sadberge had been discharged by monks, from the colleges at Darlington, Auckland, and Durham.

We know the proverb "*De mortuis*," &c., but as this is an attempt to record historic *facts*, we must add the recorded *acts* of the brothers Barnes. "By their fruits ye shall know them."

Now what are the acts of Bishop Barnes? *Stryppe*, in his Appendix, gives a list of Episcopal property he sold.

(1) All the Manors of Wickham and Gateshead.
(2) All the Fishery Rights in the Tweed.
(3) All the Water-mills in Darlington and Blackwell.
(4) The Rectory and Tythe of Crayke, in Yorkshire.
(5) All the Manor and Grange of Midridge.
(6) Wolsingham Park and its Water-mills.
(7) The Manor of Horeden (Howden) in Yorkshire.
(8) Coundon Grange, Manor of Morton, twelve Messuages at Stanhope.
(9) All the Meadows called Bishop's Close at Byers Green, all Bishop Middleham Park and its demesne.
(10) Manor of Creyke and its Fishery Rights in River Ouse.

He was *trustee* and *life tenant* of these properties, and when it became a question of freeing himself from the spiritual responsibilities of his Chapel at Sadberge, from which no income was derived, no wonder they were passed on to his brother whom he had made Rector of Haughton, only two miles distant. Yet he took care that no legal documents should tell the tale to posterity.

Stryppe also gives Bishop Barnes' estimate of his flock:—

"I assure your Lordship the people of Northumberland are far more pliable to all good order than these stubborn, churlish people of the County of Durham, and their neighbours of Richmondshire, who shew but, as the proverb is, 'Jack of Napes' charity' in their hearts. The lives of these people, as their country, are truly savage. Onely that Augie Stabulum, the County of Durham exceeds, whose stink is grievous in the nose of God and men, and whom to purge, far passeth Hercules' labours. A vile kind of people! Pessimum hoc hominum genus, ex alicua invidia laudem sibi quæreus."*

More and worse was his administration.

"Bishop Barnes countenanced the most rapacious acts in the Ecclesiastical Courts of his Diocese, where his brother presided as Chancellor. He was the tyrant of the country, considering his powers only as a means of gratifying his evil

* Stryppe's *Annuals*, vol. ii, p. 480.

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inclinations, among which avarice bore a principal part. Oppression was a natural effect."* "Bishop Barnes was commendable of himself, but much suffering from the corruption and viciousness of John Barnes, his brother and Chancellor and Rector of Haughton."†

When we consider the career of this Bishop, it is not surprising that secretly he should throw off the spiritual responsibilities of his private chapel at Sadberge, and arrange with his brother John, whom he had settled near Sadberge.

Richard Barnes graduated at B.N.C., Oxford, and in 1570 was consecrated Bishop of Nottingham. As a Bishop he was a Plurist; he held the benefice of Stonegrave up to his death. To this he added Stokesley in York; also he held Romaldkirk, but resigned Stokesley. He was translated to Carlisle. In 1575 translated to Durham by Queen Elizabeth. "He was appointed to Durham to watch the messengers from Scotland from the unfortunate Queen Mary."‡

Stryppe thus records his acts as Bishop of Durham :—

(1) In 1577, May 31st, Bishop Barnes granted Queen Elizabeth his fisheries in the Tweed waters. She gave them to Thos. Leighton.

(2) In 1578 he devises to Elizabeth his mills in Darlington and Blackwell for forty years. She gives them to Wm. Appleton, June 19th, 1578.

(3) In 1582 he grants her the Manor of Midridge for eighty years. She gives this to Richard Franklin.

(4) On Nov. 12th, 1583, he grants to her the Lordship and Borough of Gateside. She gives this to Alderman Andrews and Selby, of Newcastle.

(5) In 1585 Bishop Barnes grants Queen Elizabeth the Manor of Horeden for eighty years. She gives it to John Gate, of Houlden.

(6) In 1587 he gave her the Manor and Advowson of Crayke for eighty years. (Probably as life tenant he was limited to three lives.) Queen Elizabeth gave this to Sir Thos. Walsingham.

Gardner, in his History of Newcastle, states :—"Bishop Barnes leased Gateshead Collieries to Queen Elizabeth for ninety-nine years, and she assigned them to the Corporation of Newcastle." Dr. Cradock, Archdeacon of Northumberland, attested that this lease was worth £50,000 per annum. Such a trustee would not hesitate at ridding himself of the duties of a private chapel at Sadberge, by which he gained freedom from all responsibility.

* Hutchinson, vol. i, p. 463. † Fuller, Lib. ix, p. 197. ‡ Stryppe.

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We conclude:—

(1) The link of Sadberge with Haughton was a private arrangement made in 1577 by the two brothers Barnes. When the Bishop appointed his brother John to the Rectory of Haughton, it was agreed that John should relieve the Bishop of the burden of his private chapel at Sadberge, and they kept the agreement a secret.

(2) *No* legal documents exist, proving that it was a *private* arrangement: hence Hutchinson, "A Chapel of Ease *not certified.*"

(3) Succeeding Rectors at Haughton, who undertook the spiritual duties of the Bishop's private chapel at Sadberge, evidently never made any enquiry, and out of the large revenues attached to Haughton paid a Curate to discharge the duties at Sadberge, and it is remarkable that, from 1577, they can be traced in unbroken succession.

(4) From time immemorial Sadberge held its own Vestry at Sadberge, elected its own Chapel Wardens, and settled its own rates, and passed its Chapel accounts.

(5) I possess Wardens' Accounts from 1748 to 1887, for more than 140 years, and only one Rector of Haughton ever signs the Vestry minutes, and he requests the Chapel Wardens to provide new altar linen, *which they disregarded.*

(6) Had Sadberge been a Chapel of Ease to Haughton, its Vestry minutes would have been submitted to the Haughton Vestry for approval. This was never done.

(7) In 1704, about 180 years later than the private arrangement between the Barnes brothers, George Buck, bailiff and custodian of Sadberge Gaol, made his will, and left £100 "to the Minister, Church Wardens, or Overseers of *Sadberge.*" How is it Haughton is omitted, if Sadberge was a Chapel of Ease to Haughton?

In the present Church was placed a *board* on which was painted the following:—

"We, the undersigned, do hereby certify that Sadberge Chapel was rebuilt and enlarged in the year 1831, by which 190 additional sittings were obtained, and in consequence from a grant by the Incorporated Society for promoting the enlargement, building and repairing of Churches, the whole of that number are hereby declared to be free and unappropriated for ever.

"DAVID PIPER, Minister.

"ROBERT FEETHAM, Chapel Warden."

Here is a public declaration that the Chapel at Sadberge had its Minister and Warden, and no dependence on Haughton is recognised.

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We conclude that Sadberge was the private chapel of the Bishop of Durham from 1189, until a Bishop of Durham, in 1856, proposed to make it a Parish Church.

As we have traced the relation of Sadberge to Haughton, perhaps here we may sketch the history of each place.

(1) *Haughton.* "Styr, son of Ulphus, by permission of the Saxon King Ethelred, gave Dearningham, with its appendages, to the Prior and Convent of Durham. He added certain other lands in Cockerton in Halfhtune."* The loss of the Red Book of Durham, and other early authorities, render it difficult to understand the exact extent of such grants.

Halfhtune stands for Haughton, and what *seems* to have passed to the Bishop is that portion now in Darlington Ward, which the Church secured prior to 1189. This included Great Haughton, Little Haughton, Whessoe, Beaumont, Skerningham, Barmpton, Great Burdon. This was the Bishop's portion, or Durham portion, of Haughton. These places are now in the possession of the Dean and Chapter of Durham, as representing the Prior and Convent of Durham.

(2) *Sadberge.*

(i) *Sadberge* was the Earl or King's portion, in Stockton Ward. It was the capital of the Saxon Wapontake, in the Earldom of Northumberland, situate on the Great Street which comes from Thornton-le-Street to Allertonshire, across Pountey's Bridge to Stainton-le-Street, having a Gaol, Church, Burial Place in Saxon times, and yet no Parish.

(ii) Little Burdon, now in Morton Palms, with which it was *feudally* connected.

(iii) *Morton Palms*, anciently Morton-on-Moors.

(iv) *Coatham Mundeville*, detached from the rest of the Wapontake of Sadberge, and the Ward of Stockton, and possessing a Chapel.

Thus, in Saxon times Sadberge was linked with early Northumberland, then with Saxon kings. Pudsey, in 1189, linked it with the See of Durham, but from the earliest times Sadberge was separate from Haughton, and through the ages in different ownership and different wards, one linked with the Dean and Chapter of Durham, and the other linked with the Crown, and in 1887 with the Ecclesiastical Commissioners.†

In the Pipe Roll for Northumberland (Hy. II, 1156), Sadberge was in the hands of the Crown, when he granted "Two Oxgangs de dominio meo de Sadbergiæ." And, when Pudsey made the Bolden Buke, 1183, Sadberge, Little

* Lel. Coll. i. 377. † Longstaff's Paper at Haughton.

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Burdon, Coatham Mundeville, were in the Crown. Coatham Mundeville belonged to the Amundevilles, a Norman family and Barons of Sadberge.

The hand of the kings had been strong for the *Earls* of Northumberland. The Prior and Convent of Durham, an *imperium in imperio*, had lessened the Bishop's demesne by taking Great Burdon, Barmpton, Skerningham.

Little Haughton, lying south of the Skerne, was an episcopal residence *before* Pudsey settled in Darlington. The great square of mound and moat are very visible in the field adjacent to Red Hall, and to the east and south other enclosures appear.*

These two distinct streams separating Sadberge from Haughton can be traced in their ecclesiastical history, Sadberge being a Bishop's peculiar from 1187 to 1856, linked with the State, and in 1861 a distinct Parish. Whereas, Haughton from early days linked with the Bishop.

In another chapter we have recorded, on what we regard satisfactory evidence, how that a person who received the tithes and rents of Haughton Rectory paid the two Curates £100 and £80 per annum, and that the rest was credited to Dr. Bandinel's banking account. It is only just to relate the statement of Mr. Ord, Haughton Hall, and at one time Warden at Haughton-le-Skerne, viz.: "When the Rev. Le Mesurier died, he left a widow and family. The Bishop of Durham (Barrington) sent for the widow, and enquired if she had any relative who would take the benefice." She said: 'I have a brother who is Bodleian Librarian,' and the Bishop appointed him to the benefice. The parties are dead, yet it is a beautiful illustration of the goodness of heart of Bishop Barrington. Still, it is a striking proof that *spiritual* responsibilities were almost forgotten in appointing to benefices. The Church has suffered greatly from this, and if she had not been a Divine Society would long ago have disappeared. The endowments attached to a Parish are for the spiritual interests of its *Parishioners*, and not to provide incomes for families.

* Longstaff at Haughton.

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CHAPTER VI.

Registers.

Registers came into existence about the end of the reign of Henry VIII.

On September 30th, 1538, Thomas Cromwell, Vicar-General, issued a Royal Injunction, that "the Curate of each Church should keep one book or Register, which book he shall every Sunday take forth, and in the presence of the churchwardens, or one of them, write and record in the same all Weddings, Christenings and Burials made the whole week before." Certainly one parish obeyed, for in the Register of St. Mary's, Cambridge, "Item payed for a boke called the Register, V shillings."

In 1558 Queen Elizabeth issued a similar command. In 1597 she ordered that Registers should be on parchment, at the expense of the parish, and that the 1538 Registers should be copied on parchment. Hence some begin 1538, others 1558, and some 1597. Elizabeth's order ran: "The old Books were to be copied, especially since the reign of the Queen" (Mary). The correctness of these copies had to be attested by the ministers and wardens.

In Nichol's *History* is a quotation from a Register: "The Vicar of Keyham held the living 92 years."

The Canons of 1603, No. LXX, embodied the Injunctions of 1597, and ordered that "the Registers should be kept in a sure coffer, with 3 locks and keys."

How human schemes fail! This appears from the following: "Here, by the negligence of the *Clarke*, who had always kept the notes of such things as should be registered till the end of the year, there being, as yet, no chest for keeping the Register Books, the said notes were lost, and thereby the Register is imperfect."*

Parish *Registrars* were appointed in 1653. They existed till the Restoration, in 1660. The appointment of these

* East Woodley Register, Hampshire (1623).

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officers by the Commonwealth is the reason why so many Registers disappeared. Sadberge Chapel must have possessed the earliest Registers—perhaps from 1588. In all probability this Commonwealth Registrar took possession of them and never restored them, for its oldest Register on parchment begins in 1661.

As a rule, lost Registers, dating to 1588, may be traced to the Commonwealth. We give an illustration, A.D. 1641: "Know all men, that the reason why little or nothing is Registered ab 1641 until 1649, was the Civil Wars between King and Parliament put everything into confusion, and neither minister nor people could quietly lay down for one party or the other."*

There was, during the Commonwealth, a *Minister* in residence in Sadberge, yet, notwithstanding its ancient history, no document, as far as we know, recording its ecclesiastical history exists till 1662! He may be regarded as the destroyer of ecclesiastical records in Sadberge. We could give his name, but decline.

The earliest Register is on parchment, 1662. It is a record of *Marriages*, *Burials*, *Baptisms*. All three are in *one* book, and all date from 1662:—

Marriages. "Catalogus sive Registrum Omnium qui Matrimonio conjungatur in Capella de Sadburiæ."

Burials. "Catalogus sive Registrum Omnium Sepultorum in Capella de Sadburgh, Anno Domini 1662."

Baptisms. "Catalogus sive Registrum Omnium Baptizorum."

It is a sad fact that this oldest parchment Register is shamefully mutilated, some person or persons having cut away half a leaf in some places, probably to destroy legal evidence relating to property; yet such is the fact!

In 1887 I found the keys of the iron safe in the hands of the Parish Clerk, who was feesible! He was angry when I took possession of the keys of the safe; and for twenty-four years no person saw or examined them, save in my presence.

I found the following in this early Register: "*Si* quis Registrum hoc vel mutilare in ulla part, vel nomen aliquid delere, addere aut infalsum immature, vel quoris alio modo violare audeat, pro sacrilego habeatur a Domino." This curse did not prevent shameful mutilation.

There is a peculiar entry in 1687, in the Burials: "James Tate, Minister at Bishopton, 1686, and Sadbrige, was buried at Sadberge." Probably he was Minister at Bishopton to 1686, and in 1687 removed to Sadberge, where he died

* Kilworth Register, Leicester.

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and was buried. In 1687 Bishopton had the larger graveyard.

There are eight volumes of Registers:—

(i) On *Parchment*, containing Marriages, Burials, Baptisms, consists of 120 pages, paged by Mr. Henderson, Curate. Page 90 contains memoranda of five Charities.

(ii) A large brown book. It is a Marriage Register and Publication of Banns.

(iii) A small brown book. A Register of Baptisms, Banns, etc.; and, Burials.

(iv) A parchment-bound Register of Marriages.

(v) A parchment-bound Register of Baptisms.

(vi & vii) Both green volumes, Registers of Marriages.

(viii) A parchment-bound Register of Burials.

No. (i) begins in 1662 and is the most interesting, historically.

Return by the Rev. D. Piper for Census purposes, re Sadberge Registers in 1830.

In Sadberge Chapelry we have six Registers.

First Register:

Baptisms.	Burials.	Marriages.
1665 to 1783	1662 to 1764	1668 to 1753
1784 „ 1785	1764 „ 1783	
1785 „ 1794	1785 „ 1794	

(The above relate to the earliest Register, 1662.)

Second Register:

Baptisms, 1794 to 1812; Burials, 1794 to 1812.

Third Register: Marriages, 1755 to 1808.

Fourth Register: Baptisms, 1803 to 1831.

Fifth Register: Burials, 1813 to 1831.

Sixth Register: Marriages, 1813 to 1831.

The Latin warning against mutilation, I think, is only in the 1662 Register. It is suitable to our age: "If any person dares to destroy or add anything to this Register, or to mutilate it in any part, either in name, or add or insert what is false, or dares in any way to injure it, let him be regarded as guilty of sacrilege by God."

The mutilation of the 1662 Register is a sad fact, still it contains some remarkable entries.

On pages 52 and 109 a charge of 3d. is made for the Sacrament of Baptism. It seems as if an Order in Council was made, authorising this imposition.

At the back of this 1662 Register is the following: "This Register of Baptisms, Marriages, Burials in the Chapelry of Sadberge contains 120 pages, regularly copied by me.—M. Henderson, Curate."

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It contains many curious entries, *e.g.*, 1621-2: "Cuthbert Smith and Elizabeth Oswald clandestinely married in the night, at Sadberge." *Note.*—(1) No officiating *Minister* is given. (2) It is forty years *before* 1662 when this Register *begins*. (3) Is the entry made to strengthen claims to property? Certainly to us it is unaccountable.

On the Visitation of the Archdeacon to Sadberge, August 4th, 1697, is the following strange entry: "The Archdeacon orders a *door* to be made in the Church wall." Now this entry points to a great event in the communication between Stockton and Sadberge. Up to 1697 the road from Darlington to Stockton branched off at Great Burdon, and ran more than half a mile *from Sadberge;* it is now known as the Stockton and Darlington *Old* Road; but in 1697 a new road, from Stockton to Darlington, ran through the centre of Sadberge, crossing Rynkneild Street, and this new road ran parallel with the Church wall; hence the Archdeacon's orders—access to the Church to be from the new road. A very important event in the history of Sadberge!

In 1705 it records: "*Robert Booth* gave a Book, for the use of the Curate of Sadberge." We presume it was a prayer-book, though we have never seen it. It is noteworthy that after 214 years, in this world of change, a member of this family is Registrar of Durham Diocese in 1920.

The Second Register is 1794-1812. I venture to think that it is unique, for it is really a *Pedigree* book, *e.g.*:

Name.	*Birth.*	*Baptism.*	*Child.*	*Parentage.*
George Bradley	June 23, 1808	June 26, 1808	5th Son	Thos. Bradley, native of the Parish of Middleton Tyas, Yorkshire, by his wife, Elizabeth Kate Smith, a native of the Parish of Grindon.

Another unique entry—page 15 of the Register 1794-1812: "George, 2nd son of Matthew Meynell, of this Chapelry of Sadberge (a Papist), and Elizabeth his wife (late Harewood), was born December 31st, 1802, and baptized by a Roman Catholic priest. (Inserted by the desire of the Parents.)"

The first Burial recorded in this Register is 1794, May 25th.

The last Burial recorded is November 18th, 1812.

This Register is on paper and is *blank after* 1812. It does not cover twenty years. Probably the information to be recorded was a burden and therefore disused. Still,

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it is a storehouse of Sadberge pedigrees for twenty years. It has Banns and Registers of Marriage recorded *con.*

December 19th, 1706, is this strange entry: "George Peacock, Aislaby, buried at Sadberge, 188 *years of age.*"

Remarkable Entries in Sadberge Registers.

In the parchment Register, 1725, is the following: "The Hon. Lady Brown, who was baptized in this Chapelry, in 1670, in memory whereof she gave a Pulpit *Cloath* and a Cushion of red shag, in the year 1725."

Who was Lady Brown? The same person who, in 1727, gave the *Cross* now in the Market Hall, Darlington. As a benefactor to Sadberge and Darlington we will give her history.

Her father was William Barnes, a sturdy Royalist, residing at Low Comscliffe, though they are a Lancashire family. William Barnes married Elizabeth, the daughter of John Buck, of Sadberge, the sister of George Buck, whose Charity will keep his name green in Sadberge and Darlington. The banns of William Barnes and Elizabeth Buck were published for the third time May 11th, 1656. They had two children: *Layton*, baptized October 14th, 1659; he died October 21st, 1664, and was buried at Darlington. *Dorothy* Barnes was baptized at Sadberge, August 7th, 1670. Her father died in Dorothy's infancy and was buried at Croft, "where my former relatives were buried." His will bequeaths "One 22-shilling piece of gould, to buy a ring with." To another, "My little galloway mare." "To my kinsman, William Chator, of Croft Spa, five anguils of gould" (a coin bearing the figures of angels, hence its name, and its value 10s. sterling). "To kinsman William Place, of Darlington, gent., my lease of the tolls of Darlington Burrow" (these he inherited from his grandfather). "To Edward Dunwell, of Darlington, my great gray gelding and my best Spanish suite, trimmed with red ribbons." William Barnes was a gentleman of position, and Dorothy Barnes was his heiress; also the niece of George Buck, of Sadberge. The Barnes family, though Lancastrian, settled in the County of Durham, 1577.

Dorothy Barnes was married three times:—

(i) Michael Blackett, son of Alderman Blackett, of Newcastle-on-Tyne, married Dorothy Barnes at Norton Church in 1674, and in 1676 her husband was Sheriff of Newcastle-on-Tyne. Michael Blackett was Bailiff of Darlington by patent in 1680, and died in 1683, and was buried at Newcastle-on-Tyne, in the present Cathedral.

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(ii) She married, in 1688, Sir Richard Brown, Bart., London, by which she became Lady Dorothy Brown. Sir Richard died in 1691.

(iii) In 1714 she married Dr. John Moore, Bishop of Ely. They had three sons—Daniel, William, Charles. Daniel and Charles were Bailiffs of Darlington. As Dorothy Barnes, she is linked with Sadberge, and was baptized there, and also as niece of George Buck.

As "Barnes"—"Blackett"—"Moore," she is linked with Darlington. We give her links with Darlington. The Barnes family may be called the *Bailiff* family of Darlington, furnishing no fewer than seven Chief Bailiffs of Darlington from 1604 to 1736—a period of 132 years:—

1. William Barnes, of Bedborne Park, gentleman, Bailiff of Darlington in 1604, Coroner of Darlington Ward, died in 1605. Great-great-uncle to *Dame Dorothy Barnes*.
2. John Lisle, Bailiff in 1606, married Barbary, widow of the foregoing William Barnes.
3. Christopher Barnes, of Darlington, gentleman, Bailiff in 1625. Seised of a burgage in Skinergaite (near Rose and Crown) and of lands called Glassensikes and Windmill Hill. He was buried at Darlington 1630-1. Great-uncle to *Dame Dorothy Brown*.
4. Thomas Barnes, gentleman, a Royalist delinquent, Steward of Darlington Borough 1615 and 1616, Bailiff in 1625. His will is dated 17th November, 1642, and he was buried on the 25th November, 1642, at St. Helen's, Auckland. These dates are within a fortnight of the affray at Piercebridge between the Earl of Newcastle's Royalists and the Roundheads of Fairfax. The latter had mustered at Darlington, and the Earl of Newcastle in his answer to Fairfax's aspersion says: "Did they not rob and plunder sundry of his Majestie's liege people at Dornton, in such a cruell manner that the prime officer of the toune died of griefe within three or four days?" The prime officer, Thomas Barnes, was grandfather to *Dame Dorothy Brown*.
5. Michael Blackett, Bailiff in 1674, husband of *Dame Dorothy Brown*.
6. Daniel Moore, of St. Andrew Holbirn, Esq., was Bailiff in 1710. He was eldest son of *Dame Dorothy Brown*.
7. Charles Moore, of the Inner Temple, was Steward of Darlington in 1733, Bailiff in 1736. His widow administered for his estate in 1738. He was the youngest son of *Dame Dorothy Brown*.

Up to 1753 each parish kept its Registers in its own way, producing charming variety in Parish Registers.

In 1753 Lord Hardwick's Act required the use of *printed* forms for the first time. Up to this date Registers reflect the individuality of the keeper, whether careless or careful, a scholar or ignoramus. This Act was intended to check *clandestine* marriages and produce a measure of uniformity in them.

Why have so many old Registers disappeared?

(i) The Injunctions of 1597, that *Parchment* should be used, probably was only partially obeyed.

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(ii) *Paper* Registers mildewed and rotted.

(iii) The *Registrars*, to whom the ancient ones had been entrusted in 1660, probably neglected to restore them to the respective parishes, to the care of the *Parochial Clergy*. This is probably the cause of the disappearance of Sadberge Register from 1588 to 1662.

(iv) The *negligence* of the eighteenth century: Parliament ceased to revise them; they were left to neglect—mildew—mixed with Parish papers; one parish clerk is reported saying, "You had better have the leaf, sir"! No wonder they disappeared into chests, cupboards, etc., etc.

Another entry is, "*Buried in woollen and affidavit made.*" This entry is frequent. An Act in the reign of Charles II aimed at lessening the importation of linen and the encouragement of the woollen manufacture in England. It was enacted:—"The Curate of every Parish should keep a Register, to be provided by the Parish, to enter all burials and affidavits of persons buried in Woollen—the affidavit to be taken by any Justice, Mayor, or Chief Officer in the Parish where the body is interred, and a fine of £5 to be imposed, one-half to go to the informer and the other half to the poor of the Parish." This Act was very unpopular, though in force from 1666 to 1814, when it was repealed. Within eight days an affidavit had to be brought that the person was not buried in any shirt, shift, sheet, shroud made or mingled with flax, hemp, silk, hair or any material than sheep's wool, or in any coffin lined or faced with any cloth, stuff, or anything made or mingled with any material but sheep's wool. And if no affidavit is brought, the Parson is to certify to the Wardens or Overseers, and to enter in the Registers if affidavit is brought. In 1678 a second Act was passed with the same object.

Sometimes Registers give the value of the estate, *e.g.*, Parish of Porlock, in Somerset, "January 3rd, 1708, Jane Chilbalt, buried in woollen only. She was *worth but little.*" The Act required the parish priest to record the facts in the Register.

In 1662 Registers these "woollen" entries are numerous. The use of coffins was not universal until the end of the seventeenth century, as winding-sheets were the rule. Virgins wore *crowns*, *e.g.*, Ophelia, *Hamlet*, Act V, Scene I.

Probably this odious Act led to Pope's satire on the famous actress, Mrs. Oldfield, who died 1731. She escaped

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the Act, and was buried in Westminster Abbey in a head-dress of Brussels lace, shift, white tucker and double ruffles of the same lace, and a pair of new kid gloves.

"Odious! In woollen! 'Twould a saint provoke!"
Were the last words that poor Narcissa spoke.
"No! Let a charming chintz and Brussels lace
Wrap my cold limbs and shade my lifeless face.
One would not sure be fruitful when one's dead,
And Betty gives this cheek a little red."

Notwithstanding the Act, people evaded it, and Sir Hy. Morgan Vane used to say that his ancestors at Shipborne, in Kent, always preferred to be buried in linen, and pay the £5. No wonder John Bright used to say, "You can drive a coach-and-six through any Act of Parliament." "*Sic gloriam mundi transit*" and its Acts of Parliament!

It is more agreeable to give the benefactors the Registers record, the chief being the Buck family.

Extracts from Sadberge *Registers*:—

(1) "*Georgius Buck*, sepultus erat undecimo die May, 1710."

(2) George Buck's *Will*, 18*th July*, 1704: "He gave £100 for the use of the poor in the Parish of Darlington and of the Township of Sadbury, to be laid out in lands for their benefit, viz., three parts of the profits for the poor of Darlington Parish, and the fourth part to the poor of Sadbury, to be paid yearly, the first and second Sunday after the 11th of November, to the Minister and Churchwardens and Overseers, to be by them distributed to such as are most indigent."

(3) On page 91 of the Register of 1661 is a piece of paper pasted at a subsequent date (not prior to 1860), at least 150 years later than 1661: "This £100 was laid out in a close of land near Norgate Bridge, at Darlington, of copyhold tenure, and was surrendered by Michael Hodgson, of Fieldhouse, near Darlington, in trust for the above purpose, called Buck's Close."

There are few names in Sadberge or Darlington that will be kept so green as that of *George Buck*.

The Buck family were Keepers of Sadberge Gaol and Bailiffs.

George Buck held both offices. He was the youngest son of John and Katherine Buck. His mother's will was proved August 3rd, 1580. She left four sons—Francis, Myles, Thomas, George.

John Buck, the father of George Buck, died in the house of Edward Surtees, Darlington, June 17th, 1657.

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Francis Buck left a daughter, Margery. Her father died September 30th, 1720, aged 88. Margery married John Eden, whose will was proved 23rd April, 1680; and she married the Rev. Thomas Davison, Vicar of Norton; he died 1715, ætat 80.

George was probably a bachelor, and was Bailiff and custodian of Sadberge Gaol; he died May 11th, 1710. His trustee was his housekeeper, Frances Allinson; she was his sole executrix. She married Benjamin Grieve, hind at Little Burdon, a farm Henry VIII had confiscated together with its tithe—stolen ecclesiastical property. George Buck's instructions were that his £100 should be expended in land. As the future proved, his executrix made a fortunate selection. She purchased a close of land near Norgate Bridge, Darlington, adjoining the Skerne, which produced a rental of £10 per annum. It was copyhold tenure, and surrendered by Michael Hodgson, of Fieldhouse, near Darlington, in trust, and called Buck's Close, October 16th, 1711, Allinson having proved the will at Durham, June 2nd, 1710.

Bailiffs of Sadberge.

The family of Buck are almost Bailiffs by descent.

The custody of the Gaol seems linked to *Manors*. One-fourth of its custody was charged to the Manor of Aislaby; one-fifth charged to Manor of Neasham; one-eighth charged to Manor of Hurworth.

"In Villa de Sadberge, fuit olim Gaola et prisona quam Thos. Card, epis reparavit, Mickleton." This was the famous Wolsey.

January 22nd, 1597: "Richard Claxton, of Croxdale, leaves to Thomas Wycliffe, *now a prisoner in Sadberge*, 1 Silver Spoon and 5/-."

In later times the Buck family acquired much property in Sadberge by purchase. They were descended from a long line of ancient Bailiffs and Officers in the Wapontake and Manor.

We give a list of *Bailiffs* from 1378 to 1615:—

Henry Pillock was Bailiff 24th Hatfield, 1378.
Richard de Whitby was Bailiff 2nd Langley, 1406.
William Paulli was Bailiff 21st Langley, 1427.
John Paulli was Bailiff 10th Neville, 1448.
Reginald Newton, Serviens Episcopi, Bailiff, 1449.
John Paulli, Bailiff 15th Neville, 1453.

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Seth Gyllowe, Bailiff 2nd Edward IV, 1465. (Why the King, and not the Bishop? The See was not vacant.)

Benjamin Worsley, Bailler et Receptor Wapontake Sadberge, 12th December (14th Booth), 1471.

Henry Sale, Bailiff 22nd June (19th Booth), 1476.

Richard Bukka, et Clericus Mercati, 4th Rathall, 1513.

Richard Milner, Bailiff 26th Henry VIII, 1535.

Richard Barrell, Bailiff 12th Tunstall, 1542.

John Bukke, Senescallus Epis, Custos Manerii et Gaoli, cum gardinis et pomariis 29 Mart, 29th Tunstall, 1559.

John Addye, Bailiff 9th James, 1615.

We will return to the Bucks.

The Buck family not merely held official positions, but acquired by purchase much property, of which the Buck Inn, in the centre of Sadberge, is the only visible sign; but in 1597, Thomas Harrison (junior) from his father, Thomas Harrison, yeoman, conveyed one messuage in Sadberge, *alias* Sadberge-on-the-Hill, and Francis, his ward, son of Thomas Harrison, to John Bucke and John Addie, yeoman, 1688.

Francis Bucke's will was proved, possessed of lands in Sadberge, September 19th, 1595. He had an *only* son, *George* Buck, who was a minor in 1595, and died February 7th, 1612-13. George Buck, the benefactor of Sadberge, died 1710, and probably inherited his namesake's estate. Margery Buck, the only sister of George, the benefactor, was the sole heiress of Francis, the eldest brother of George. She died 30th September, 1720, aged 83. "*Ultima Buckorum de Sadberge.*"

Land is not always a profitable investment, but Buck's Close was, for when sold by public auction in 1865 it realized £4,609 16s. 4d., and 1,080 yards sold for £246, making a total of £4,855 16s. 4d. The purchaser was Mr. W. A. Wooler, Sadberge Hall. He said to me: "People said that I was mad, yet I made £10,000 by the purchase."

By Buck's will, the town of Darlington received £8,653 7s. 8d. as a perpetual benefaction to the poor. Sadberge received £1,217 15s. 9d., which is administered by a scheme of the Charity Commissioners (May, 1885). It may be doubtful whether the Commissioners had power to divide this Charity, its annual income being over £100, but it is now too late to raise the question, and the scheme is a good one. The facts are, that for nearly forty years the town of Darlington has received not less than £100 per

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annum, and Sadberge about £40 for the same period, from Buck's Charity, yet no steps have been taken in either place to perpetuate the memory of this benefactor. He sleeps in Sadberge Churchyard, in an unknown grave—certainly on the south side of the old Church site—and it would be a generous act if Darlington and Sadberge placed some memorial in Sadberge Churchyard, and wiped out the stain of always *receiving*, yet never giving, like the grave.

The office of Bailiff of Sadberge and Custodian of its Gaol was long held by a *Bukke, e.g.*, "Richard Bukke, et Clericus Mericatus Ruthal, 1509." Thomas Ruthal became Bishop of Durham in 1509, so that he appointed Richard Bukke, Bailiff and Custodian, et "*Clericus Mericatus*"! What does "*Clericus Mericatus*" mean? "A salaried cleric," either priest or clerk (a layman). Is it possible that Bishop Ruthal *ordained* Richard Bukke? If so, he was Coroner, Bailiff, Custodian of the Gaol, and *Priest*. Perhaps some antiquarian will explain "*Clericus Mericatus*" linked with bailiffs. Pluralities have been a curse to the Church, yet if Richard Bukke was a priest, this is the climax of pluralities.

In 1550, John Bukke, Senescallus Epis, Custos Manerii et Gaoli cum gardinis, et pomarius 29 Mart, 20 Tunstall. This member of the Bukke family held many offices:—(1) Marshal of the Bishop; (2) in charge of his manor; (3) keeper of his gaol; (4) charge of the gardens and fruit attached to the manor-house.

These gentlemen were ancestors of George Buck, who left £100 for the poor of Sadberge and Darlington in 1704, and now annually returns an income exceeding the original bequest.

Perhaps here we may record the various and tedious proceedings by which this bequest of George Buck, in 1704, at the present time *annually* returns to the Trustees of Buck's Charity in Sadberge and Darlington a larger amount than the original bequest:—

"At the Court, Michael Hodgson took of the Lord one close called 'Butt's Close,' otherwise 'Bean Close.'

"Benjamin Greve, and Frances, his wife (formerly called Allison), at the request, and with the consent of, the ministers and churchwardens and overseers of Darlington and Sadberge, invested the £100 in the land 'Butts Close,' in Northgate, Darlington. [Note the variety of names, Bean Close and Butt's Close.]

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"The said Michael Hodgson surrendered upon the trusts and for the purposes hereinafter mentioned (that is to say) upon trust that the clear profits of the premises, as the same shall be received, shall be paid three-fourths part thereof (the whole in four equal parts to be divided) to the minister, churchwardens, or overseers of the poor of the parish of Darlington, and the residue thereof to the curate, churchwarden, or overseers of the poor of Sadberge, to be by them respectively distributed (that is to say) the said three-fourths part to and amongst the poor of the said parish of Darlington, and the other fourth part to and amongst the poor of the said township of Sadberge, upon the eleventh day of November in every year, according to the true intent and meaning of the said Testator's will, and to be surrendered from time to time to such new trustees or trustee as the said ministers, churchwardens, or overseers, or the major part of them, shall direct or appoint at their charges, and subject to the trusts aforesaid." This is not a bad specimen of legal tautology. In 1862 the Ecclesiastical Commissioners enfranchised Butt's Close gratuitously, an act of legal generosity.

The Order of the Charity Commissioners was sealed 28th May, 1867, for administration of Sadberge's one-fourth share. They invested the £4,871 3s. in Three Per Cents., and apportioned it as follows: Darlington, £3,653 7s. 3d.; Sadberge, £1,217 15s. 9d.—a promise being made that the interest on £1,217 15s. 9d. would be paid into the National and Provincial Bank, Darlington, in January and July, to the credit of the incumbent and churchwardens of Sadberge. We give a copy of this Order.

"The Board of Charity Commissioners do hereby order by way of a scheme for the administration of the one-fourth share of the income, that three-fifths shall be applicable by the Trustees towards the school and two-fifths shall be applied to the benefit of the most deserving and necessitous inhabitants of Sadberge," by providing them with clothes, bedding, fuel, medical or other aid in sickness, food or other articles in kind, or with pecuniary aid in special cases (as shall be considered by the Trustees to be most advantageous), so that no funds of the Charity shall be applied, directly or indirectly, to the relief of the Poor Rates.

Thus, Buck's Charity is controlled by the scheme of the Charity Commissioners, and the Sadberge scheme bears date, 9th day of October, 1885.

We give the legal proceedings *re* Butt's Close.

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In the Bondgate Court, October 16th, 1711, a surrender from George Crawforth, and Elizabeth, his wife, to Michael Hodgson, of the said close called 'The Butts Close,' otherwise 'Bean Close.'

Bondgate Court, 18th October, 1770, Michael Hodgson, of the Inner Temple, London, grandson and heir of the said Michael Hodgson, deceased, was admitted to the said Close.

At a vestry meeting held December 31st, 1856, it was resolved to sell this Close, and a committee was appointed, viz., "the four churchwardens of St. Cuthbert's, Nathaniel Plews, Joseph Stephenson, the *Vicar* of St. Cuthbert's, John Manley, Nicholas Bragg, Hy. Hutchinson, Wm. Thompson, Thomas Topham, and John Buckden."

This must have been held at Darlington, and Sadberge is ignored. However, this Committee took steps to enfranchise this Butts Close:—

A deed dated 30th December, 1862, between the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, Lords of the Manor of Bondgate, of the first part, the Rev. John Garencreves Pearson, Vicar, and John Buckden, and John Walton, and Wm. Weatherill, the then Wardens of St. Cuthbert's, together with the Vicar and Wardens of Holy Trinity and St. John's, Darlington, together with the Rev. Robert Maude Moorsom, Minister of Sadberge, and Wm. Robinson and Lane Gibbon, Wardens, and John Shepherd and George Richmond, the Overseers of Sadberge.

This indenture states that the heirs-at-law of Michael Hodgson, grandfather of Michael Hodgson (Middle Temple), were extinct.

The said Commissioners, *at the request* and by the direction of the said parties thereto, of the second part, did thereby enfranchise, grant, release, and convey unto the said John Buckton and Wm. Robinson, their heirs and assigns, all that piece or parcel of land called Butts Close.

On June 3rd, 1864, the Charity Commissioners authorised its sale.

On June 5th, 1865, it was sold in Darlington and purchased by Mr. W. A. Wooler:—

Buck's Close	£4,609	16s.	4d.
Waste piece (1,080 yards)	261	6s.	8d.
Total sum realised ...	**£4,871**	**8s.**	**0d.**

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This sum was deposited with Messrs. Barclay & Co., to the credit of the Trustees of Buck's Charity.

Messrs. Buckton and Robinson (the Wardens of Darlington and Sadberge) are the parties to the first part of the agreement, showing they were the *first* created trustees of Buck.

A public meeting was held February 18th, 1864, in Darlington, the Rev. J. G. Pearson, Vicar of Darlington, in the chair. He explained the cause of the delay—that "the family of Mr. Hodgson were scattered, and a fresh title had to be obtained from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners; that the property was resigned, and received again, enabling us to give a good title, and, after this, the Ecclesiastical Commissioners enfranchised gratuitously. Leases had to expire; notices had to be given; and now we are clear of all encumbrances. We can now sell. The present rental is £29 4s. We expect to realise £3,000 or £4,000, from which we hope to obtain £120 per annum." It was sold June 5th, 1865, realizing £4,871 3s.

The Charity Commissioners, April 10th, 1872, wrote to the Secretary of Buck's Charity: "An application has been made to the Commissioners by the Rector and Wardens of Sadberge requesting a division as to their one-fourth share. The application seems reasonable, but before taking action they desire to be informed whether the Vicar and Wardens of Darlington make any observations on the proposal." The result was that on July 26th, 1872, the Secretary of the Charity Commissioners wrote: "An order has been made for Sadberge to have one-fourth share."

On the 9th of October, 1885, the Charity Commissioners issued the scheme which, in 1919, regulates the administration of Buck's Charity for Sadberge. It not merely assists the deserving poor, but offers, by its scholarships, an educational ladder for deserving natives of Sadberge who show abilities.

We trust sufficient information is here given of Buck's Charity.

There are other smaller Charities in the Register of 1662.

(1) On page 20 in the Register for the year 1780 is recorded:—"Memorandum in the year 1720 that Francis Harrison, born and brought up in the town of Sadberge, hath given the sum of £10, the use thereof to be distributed to the poor of Sadberge for ever." The phrase, "town of Sadberge," is a phrase recalling

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its ancient dignity, that Sadberge was a *county* and the place where its Wapontake met. This use of "*town*" still survives, for if you enquire for an absent person, not infrequently the reply is: "He has gone into the *town*." Custom dies hard.

(2) "Mrs. Davison hath given £5, the use thereof is to be distributed to the poor of Sadberge for ever."

(3) "Likewise £10 given by Thomas Barker, in his life-time, the use thereof to be distributed to the poor for ever."

(4) "The Charity Commissioners return that the before-named £25, and also £12, making a sum of £37, yielded £1 17s. yearly in 1720."

(5) November 8th, 1770: "Sir James Pennyman gave Dr. Bandinel a promissory note for the afore-named £37, and promised to pay 4 per cent. per ann." (As far as we can ascertain, capital and interest are *non est*.)

This Register, page 90, has this entry. *Barker's* Charity:—

"Thomas Barker, by will, 1686, gave 10s. per ann. to the poor, to be paid by the tenant of East Newbiggen Farm."

"On Sept. 26, 1708, thirty shillings was distributed, being interest for 3 years. It is to be given to the poor *only*, who had not alms of the parish."

"It is to be paid out of East Newbiggen every year, on Feb. 2nd, and for non-payment the overseers have power to distrain." This 10s. is in the Charity Commissioners' Scheme of 1885, and is regularly paid by the owner of East Newbiggen.

"Barker's will is witnessed by James Wyld (clerk), Ralph Pemberton (minister's warden), Richard Aird (warden), Richard Garmondsway, Richard Middleton, Richard Brass, Thomas Higson, Anthony Allan, and other inhabitants of the town aforesaid." These persons must have formed the inquest after death, when wills were proved. Barker's will named £10 and limited it to those not receiving alms from the parish, or on the parish books. Eventually it became an annual charge of 10s. on East Newbiggen Farm. In 1911 the owner of this farm was Lord Londonderry, and the 10s. is regularly paid to the Trustees of Sadberge Charities.

Bandinel's Charity. In 1876, Mrs. Bandinel, widow of Dr. Bandinel, late Rector of Haughton, and Bodleian Librarian, left £100 to the Incumbent and Wardens of

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Sadberge, upon trust, to invest the same in their names in Government or real securities, with power to vary the same, from time to time, for any other of the like nature, and "I direct that the Incumbent and Churchwardens annually, at Xmas, distribute the interest amongst poor widows residing in Sadberge, in any way they think best." In 1876 this £100 was invested in £105 10s. 10d. New Three Per Cents. by the Charity Commissioners, the annual income being £3 8s. 4d. (see Part III, Charity Scheme, 1885).

Poor Stock. This was £84, derived from a gift of Matthew Soulby, Curate in 1786, of £20, also of £14 1s., derived from the sale of a cottage belonging to the poor. In May, 1868, this £84 was transferred to the Official Trustee of Charitable Funds (see Part III of Charity Commissioners' Scheme, 1885).

We think that Sadberge, with its small population, is well provided with Charities. From twenty-four years' experience of their administration I regard them as doubtful blessings and tending to undermine the virtues of self-reliance and personal effort.

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CHAPTER VII.

Ministers at Sadberge.

The Church at Sadberge being a private chapel of the Bishop of Durham, it is very probable that no list of officiating Priests exists.

I consulted my friend, the late Canon Greenwell, and his reply was not encouraging:—"I am afraid I cannot supply the names of any Incumbents prior to 1575. I will look into one or two likely places. Sadberge was not connected with the Prior and Convent at Durham, so it will only be casual names. It is possible, in the Palatinate documents, names may occur, but they are in the Record Office, and a search would be long and expensive."*

That Sadberge came to the See through the Crown, and not St. Cuthbert, makes the task of obtaining a list of its Ministers very difficult, and this is not lessened by its being a private chapel of the Bishop from 1189 to 1860.

"The Demesne and Lordship of the Wapontake of Sadberge belonged to the Crown, when in possession of the Earldom of Northumberland, and Hy. II (1154), as possessor of the Earldom of Northumberland, was correct in describing Sadberge: 'De dominio meo.' Sadberge came to the See through the *Crown*, and not through St. Cuthbert or Prior and Convent of Durham."†

As a search at Durham seemed hopeless, I spent several mornings searching in Lambeth Palace Library. The results appear in this chapter.

The Bishops who succeeded Bishop Pudsey seem to have taken great interest in Sadberge Chapel. They call it "*Mea Capella Sadburiæ.*" An entry appears "In stipendo Capellani, celebrantes in Capella castro, 20/8." "In cena (wax) empta ad Capellania, 2s."‡ This same Bishop, as Lord of the Wapontake and Manor of Sadberge, claimed a wreck at Hartlepool, and from its oak ordered a "*Candelabra* to be made for *Mea Capella Sadburiæ.*"

* Letter May 4th, 1908.
† *Longstaff's* Letter to Rev. R. M. Moorsom. March 11th, 1878.
‡ Kellaw's *Registers.*

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In a Bishop's private chapel probably no lists are preserved of Priests who minister in them, and it is not a surprise that the earliest name we have found is in 1834, or after a lapse of nearly 150 years, from the time it became a private chapel to the Bishop of Durham, as Lord of the Wapontake and Manor of Sadberge.

We record our discoveries :—

1834—"*Thomas de Sadberg*, was ordained Acolyte, with 26 others."

1835—We have found three records :—

"*Robert de Sadbery*, was ordained at Auckland Castle to the 1st *Tonsure*, 23rd December, 1835."

"*Thomas de Sadberie*, December 20th, 1835, ordained on S. Luke's Day, 1835. '*Ordinis Minorum Frates.*'"

"*Thomas of Saddebery*, ordained '*Mendicant* Orders.'"

1842—We have found two entries, and the latter is historically unique :—

"*Thomas of Sadbery*, ordained Acolyte with many others."

"*Wilhelmus de Kelsey*, ordained *Priest* on the title of John Waryn, *Priest of Sadberge*." He not merely gives a title to Priest's Orders, but guarantees V marks as a stipend. Ordained at *Durham*, S. Matthew's Day, 1342.

Thus, although Sadberge was the private chapel of the Bishops of Durham, yet, in the days of Richard de Bury, it had a *Resident* Priest, who also gives a title to a second Priest, so that in 1842 Sadberge Chapel had two Priests, and John Waryn exercises the rights of a modern Vicar by giving a title to Priest's Orders, nearly 600 years ago. This Waryn family must have been landowners in Sadberge, for in 1877 there is a layman, "John Waryn," who died seized of 100 acres and three messuages, held by homage, and the important office of Coroner of Sadberge, in the County of Sadberge.

In 1844 we have found two entries, and the latter one remarkable :—

1844—"*Robert de Sadberge*, ordained as *Sub*-Deacon at *Durham*."

It is noteworthy : "*Gilbert de Burdon, Priest* of Sadberge, gives the title to Robert de Sadberge, and guarantees V marks as stipend."

We quote from Kellaw's Registers, 1844. These Registers prove that "In this year there were two Resident Priests in Sadberge who gave a title to Orders, and guaranteed a stipend.

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One is John Waryn in 1842, and the other Gilbert de Burdon, 1844." (Burdon, in 1911, is a part of the modern Parish of Sadberge.) There are not many places in Durham that can give the names of officiating Priests nearly 600 years ago. For nearly 150 years we can find no records.

We have found two entries, 1491-2.

1491—"*Robert Chambers.* Serviens et Capellianus Episcopi." He was Treasurer of the Bishop's Household and Surveyor to the Bishop. He held both offices, February 20th, 1491.

1492—"*Richard Penymaster.* Capall. Epis., 1492." These two Priests were in charge of the Chapel at Sadberge in Bishop Shirwode's Episcopate.

From 1492 to 1577 there is a blank in the list of Ministers at Sadberge.

From 1577, the time of Bishop Barnes, we can trace a more or less perfect list of Ministers at Sadberge. Yet seventy years before Bishop Barnes we find a very remarkable entry.

The family of Bukke, for generations, were Coroners, Bailiffs, Custodians of the Gaol at Sadberge. They were the ancestors of George Buck, who, in 1704, by will, left £100 to Sadberge and Darlington, and which, in 1911, *annually* returns cent. per cent.

In 1509 we find Richard Bukke "*Clericus Mericatus.*" We presume this means a "Parson," who had a stipend (*Mericatus*). He must have been a busy man, for he was "Seneschal," "Coroner," "Keeper of the Gaol," "Steward of the Manor." It was the days of the Plurists, and Richard must have been a Plurist. In modern times it may be illegal, yet a Golden Canonry at Durham, reported worth £3,000 per annum, was held with a southern See. Is it not a wonder that the Church of England survives? It is wonderful that it does!

Previously, we have suggested that when Bishop Barnes made his brother, John Barnes, Rector of Haughton-le-Skerne and his Chancellor, it was mutually agreed that the Rector of Haughton should relieve the Bishop of the duties of his private chapel at Sadberge. It is a remarkable fact that from 1577 we can trace in succession Ministers at Sadberge. Evidently successive Rectors made no enquiries as to their legal obligation to discharge the duties at the Bishop's private chapel at Sadberge—the endowment of Haughton being over £1,000 per annum, prevented any enquiries. The *fact* that succeeding Rectors, from John Barnes in 1577 to 1861, a period of 284 years, provided *Curates* at Sadberge very naturally gave rise to

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the general idea that Sadberge was a Chapel of Ease to Haughton. Legally, it was the *Private* Chapel of the Bishops of Durham from 1187 to 1861.

1577: *John Nicholson.*

From 1579-1580, at the Visitation (Bishop's) the Curacy was *vacant.*

The Chancellor of Durham held a Visitation in 1578; he was John Barnes, Rector of Haughton. In the list of churches and clergy visited are:—

Sadbury Capella, 1578.

Johannes Nicholson, Curate, ibidem, Personaliter. No licence.

Edward Kay, Gardianus, Personaliter.

Lancelot Hodgeson, Gardianus. Nullo Modo.

In the list of excommunicated is *Lancelot Hodgson*, Churchwarden of Sadbury. (Note: This name is struck out.)

General Chapter held at Heighington Parish Church, 23rd July, 1578, by Venerable Robert Swift, Vicar-General, Official Principal, in the presence of Gilbert Spence, Notary Public. After prayers, "The Gospel of St. Matthew." The task was performed by Bernard Melburn, Curate of Cockfield, and twenty-two other clergy, among whom was John Nicholson, Curate of Sadbury. Then a list is given of those who could not read the Gospel, and a list of those excused on the ground that they were regarded as learned persons, and in this list appears John Barnes, Rector of Haughton.*

1581: *David Lawson*, Minister.

1586: *Martin Harrison.*

There is no record from 1586 to 1647 (a period of 61 years) of any other Minister; but during the Commonwealth (1647-1661) there was an *Intruder*, who was ejected at the Restoration. As no Registers exist before 1661, it is not unlikely that they were destroyed at this period.

1662: *Richard Atkinson.*

1666: *Ambrose Kipling, A.M.*

1678: *James Tate.* (He dies at Sadberge and is buried there.)

1689: *James Wylet.*

1727: *Humphry Holden, M.A.*

It seems that Wylet was Minister at Sadberge thirty-eight years. In the Durham Registry of Licences Holden made this declaration: "Ego Humphry Holden: Magister Artis, admitted Curate *Parochial* in Capella de Sadberge, infra Parochia de Haughton." This declaration was made

* Surtees Society Papers, 1850.

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September 18th, 1727. (Note: "*Infra* Parochia de Haughton": this was correct, yet it was *not* a Chapel of Ease.)

1728-1759: *Matthew Soulby.* He was thirty-one years Minister, died 1759, and was buried at Sadberge. He left £25 to the Parish, forming part of the *Poor Stock*, administered by Trustees of Sadberge Charities.

1759: *George Hobkirk.* He appears as *Sub*-Curate. It is probable that Matthew Soulby, in 1759, was unable to discharge the duties, and that this Priest acted *pro tem.*

1760-1800: *Thomas Morland.* *Re* this appointment there is a remarkable declaration: "I, Henry Thorpe, nominate and appoint Thomas Morland, Clerk, to perform the office of Curate in *my* Chapel of Sadberge." And September 11th, 1762, he presented Thorpe, as *Incumbent*, with a stipend of £80 per annum.

We draw attention to these statements:—

(i) "*My* Chapel in 1760." From 1189 it was the *Bishop* of Durham's private chapel, as Lord of the Wapontake and Manor of Sadberge; hence the claim was fictitious, and contrary to history and fact.

(ii) Morland does not act as Incumbent, for he signs Sadberge Vestry minutes as *Minister*, and as such presided over the Vestry.

(iii) From 1765 to 1798 he signs Sadberge Vestry minutes as *Curate.* He was forty years at Sadberge, yet never acted as Incumbent, and never claimed to be such.

(iv) Thorpe was "Rector of Haughton," and it is very remarkable that the £80 he engages to pay Morland was the *exact* amount of income. The Commonwealth Commissioners returned £7 in tithe and £28 glebe as the *endowment* attached to the Chapel at Sadberge.

When John Barnes arranged with his brother to relieve the Bishop of the spiritual duties of his private chapel, did the Rector of Haughton *appropriate* the endowment of £80 per annum, which the Commonwealth Commissioners left on record was attached to Sadberge Chapel? This Henry Thorpe was not merely Archdeacon, but Rector of Haughton, and a successor of John Barnes. However, in the parson at Sadberge—Thomas Morland—Sadberge came to its *own* inheritance, when he received its £80 per annum *endowment.*

1800-1813: *Matthew Henderson.* This Minister introduced the Pedigree Register of persons married or baptized at Sadberge. It is a valuable pedigree record, but it is

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REV. ROBERT MAUDE MOORSOM, M.A.,
FIRST RECTOR OF SADBERGE.

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very evident that it entailed enquiries and labour that his successors declined to undertake, and no succeeding minister followed the example.

1813-1817: *Thomas Vaughan.*

1817-1819: *Martin Stow.* He was Minister about two years; and from Hare's *Memorials of a Quiet Life* it appears that Stow was engaged to "Maria Leycester." He became a missionary and chaplain to Bishop Heber, dying at Decca, 1824.

1819-1821: *Edward Coulthurst.*

1821: *Anthony Hammond.*

1822-1828: *Thomas Austin.* In 1824 he became Curate at Haughton, and about 1827 became Rector of Red Marshall. Here he built the Rectory. His name is engraven over the door lintel, and recently his descendants —members of *Austin* & Paley, architects, Lancaster— inserted a stained glass window in the chancel of Red Marshall Church, to the memory of their ancestor. Thomas Austin died at Red Marshall. From Sadberge Registers it appears that Austin and his successor at Sadberge often interchanged.

1824-1827: *Simpson Brown.*

1828: *William Cleminson.*

1829-1861: *David Piper, M.A.* He was the last Priest in charge of Sadberge Chapel. For thirty-two years his stipend was £80 per annum. In 1861 the Crown nominated him as Incumbent of the newly-formed parish. which had *no* endowment. He took a holiday at Boulogne and died there, never being legally Incumbent. Elsewhere we have traced the life of this little-known and obscure priest, yet he faithfully discharged his spiritual duties, and a marble tablet in Sadberge chancel will keep his name green. *Requiescat in Pace!*

1861-1881: The Rev. *Robert Maude Moorsom.* He was the *first* Rector of Sadberge, and appointed in 1861 by the patron, the Bishop of Manchester, his former schoolmaster.

His father, Admiral Moorsom, sent him to Birmingham Grammar School when Dr. Prince Lee was its headmaster, and the famous trio, Lightfoot, Westcott and Benson, were scholars. His school links with the famous three were continued when he entered Trinity College, Cambridge, and where he graduated in 1854. In 1857, the Bishop of Manchester, his former schoolmaster, ordained him, and licensed him to Poulton-le-Fylde. I believe that Bishop Prince Lee ordained Lightfoot, Westcott and Benson, when Bishop of Manchester.

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He resided at Sadberge until 1871, his eyesight gradually failing, and Bishop Baring gave him leave for non-residence. In 1881 he became almost blind, and resigned under the Resignation Act. He nobly faced his affliction, and learned the Braille alphabet. Eventually, he was able to type his MS. by fixing the Braille alphabet to the keys of a typewriter. His schoolfellows regarded his life as fragile, yet he survived the three famous Bishops, his school and college friends, some years, and passed to the higher life at Holyrood, Winchester, August 18th, 1910, esteemed and honoured by all who value goodness, learning, and loyalty to principles.

Mr. Moorsom had the poetic gift, besides the taste and culture of the scholar. In 1889 he published "A Historical Companion to Hymns Ancient and Modern." The preface bears date, Oxford, All Saints' Day, 1889. It gives the Greek, Latin, German, Italian, French, Danish and Welsh hymns in their *original* languages. The book gives the authors and translators of the various hymns.

"Every member of the great English Church (formerly *Ecclesia Brittanicorum*, *Ecclesia Anglorium*, *Ecclesia Anglicana*) must be proud of his lineage, a heritage of eighteen centuries. We give the words of the hymns which generation after generation of Englishmen have been accustomed to use in worship. The man who can look back to the Briton, Saxon and Norman, has a thousand more ties with the past than he who only knows to-day." (*Preface.*)

Very favourable reviews of the book appeared in the *Oxford University Press*, *Spectator*, *Academy*, *Saturday Review*; and the *Yorkshire Post* adds: "This book makes accessible a wealth of devotional verse to which all save a few scholars are strangers."

A second edition was published in 1903, and the Preface is dated Winchester. Mr. Moorsom made me a present of this 1903 edition, and enriched the gift by inserting my name. I can bear testimony to his goodness and kindness. To me he is a gracious memory.

Mr. Moorsom translated three hymns which appear in Ancient and Modern. Hymn 474: "Awaked from sleep, etc.," This he translated from the Greek in 1885. Hymn 490: "Sweet Saviour, in Thy pitying grace." This he translated from Horologion Theokistin. Hymn No. 492: "Lo, now the time accepted." This he translated from the Cahors Breviary. He adds: "Much altered by the compilers of Ancient and Modern."

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We give the Prayer he composed on his blindness :—

"O God, who has chosen Thy servant to lose the light of day, that I may look on Thee alone with the enlightened eyes of the heart, be Thou the Light of my soul, that I may be rid of the darkness of this world, and reach the land of everlasting brightness, and see the King in His beauty, to which I most sincerely say Amen."

This Prayer was given to me by his faithful Sadberge friend, and mine, Miss Hutchinson.

Although the pre-Reformation Bell was sold during his non-residence, still he was not to blame. The facts are that the parish was managed by the Rector's Warden. Mr. Moorsom paid the stipend of the Curate-in-charge through his Warden. He had been thirty years in office, and his father preceded him, and the family held Wardens' accounts for 120 years. No wonder these officers acted as Rectors, accountable to no one, and he sold this bell to Mr. Lear, who told me he bought it to prevent its destruction. Happily Mr. Lear, as a native of Sadberge, restored this ancient relic, probably 450 years old, and it is now safely chained to the wall of Sadberge choir vestry, and a parchment inscription records its story to those who come after. I know that Mr. Moorsom had no part in this vandalism, and much deplored it.

By the passing of Mr. Moorsom to the higher life, heaven is enriched and earth is poorer.

As this is a History of Sadberge, perhaps we may give the description of it as a poet saw its past.

Mr. Moorsom published a Poem: "*The Beacon Fire of Sadberge for the Jubilee Night, June 20th, 1887.*" The Poem is divided into four parts :—

1st Part: "*The Gathering of Friends.*"

We had marched where our Saxon forefathers trod
Through the Churchgarth on the hill,
We had knelt at our prayers in the House of God,
Where the poor, oppressed by foes and ill,
All who were harassed and all who were low,
In the days long ago,
Had asylum found in her Hallowed ground.*

We had stood, where for ages our ancestors stood,
And we'd blessed the Lord of all;
In our own poor way we had done what we could,
For man and woman on knee did fall,
And we raised the chant, and we bowed the head,
As we thought on the bounty on us He had shed;
For with peace and with weal He'd enriched our store
For half a hundred years and more.

* Sadberge, "The Hill of Pleas," had the right to afford protection to all who fled there; her churchyard in Saxon times was a "Place of Sanctuary."

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2nd Part: "*The Beacon Fires.*"

Then from the centre of our band
Stepped forth the Warden* with a brand;
—He wore his dress of forest green
That night in honour of our Queen—
And he laid the torch within the hand
The faltering hand of Robert† old,
Whose limbs were bent, but his heart was bold;
He was an "ancient standard" he,
Yet he bore his part right heartily,
For he waved it bravely high in air,
As backwards streamed his snow-white hair;
Full ninety summers had he seen,
And Time had touched what once had been
A stalwart arm and a bright blue eye;
So we clustered around him lovingly,
And, one and all, 'twas our desire
That he should light the beaconfire;
He thrust the brand within the pile
With a genial look and a loyal smile,
And the prayer "God save our gracious Queen,
Long life to our Countess, long life to our Queen."

3rd Part: "*The Appearing of the Kings.*"

Then as the embers glowed less fierce,
And scarce our wearied eyes could pierce
The canopy of smoke around,
We laid us resting on the ground
By Pallisters and Seniors held,
Where oft-times Graham had beheld‡
The moon's fair circlet in his glass;
Yes, musing there, the time to pass,
Old scenes were pictured on my brain,
Old heroes moved athwart the plain;
Methought upon that midnight sky
The forms of ancient Kings trooped by;
There Saxon Alfred's face was seen;
And saintly Edward paced between§
The towering Harold's massive height,
And Norman William, by whose might
Our Sadberge hill was won in fight;
There Cœur de Lion's tawny head—
He held the Earldom first, 'tis said—
From out his helmet glanced around
As when upon the holy ground
He rushed upon the Moslem foe,
And dealt to each the deadly blow.
Edward we saw, who often strode‖
Along our straight white Roman road,
That leads from Tees by Stainton North
Until you reach the Firth of Forth.

* Mr. W. Robinson, for many years Warden of our Church, and Warden of our ways, and a good Forester.

† Robert Harrison, Bessie's husband, was "a very aged man," an "old Standard," as they say. [He lived to be a centenarian, and I knew him.—W.L.T.]

‡ John Graham had a 12-foot telescope erected in this field, with which he used to study the heavens.

§ King Edward the Confessor.

‖ King Edward I, the "hammer of the Scots."

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4th Part: "*The Vision of the Bishops.*"

NORTHERN BISHOPS.

ST. AIDAN. *Was consecrated Bishop in A.D. 635. He was the Apostle of Northumberland and the instructor of St. Hilda of Whitby. He came from the island of Iona, then the training school for the Clergy, and preached the Gospel to the heathen Anglo-Saxons; he built churches and schools, redeemed many slaves, and had a charm of manner which won all hearts.*

ST. CHAD, 654 *A.D.* *Afterwards Bishop of Lichfield.*

COLMAN, 661. *A good and holy man, who loved the old rites and customs taught to his British ancestors by Eastern Churchmen.*

ST. CUTHBERT, 685. *The shepherd-boy who rose to be Bishop. He preached in almost every village north of the Humber. He had a most patient unruffled temper, and was a wise, loving man, the Comforter of troubled souls in those stormy times.*

WILFRID, 688. *Active-minded, statesmanlike, exercising great influence wherever he was.*

EADBERT or EDBERT, 737. *Illustrious for his almsgiving, knowledge of Scripture, and the precious Book of the Gospels which he copied.*

ALDHUN, 990. *Died of grief, because so many of his Northumbrian Christians were harassed and murdered by pirates and raiding Scots.*

CARILEPH, 1080.

PUDSEY, 1153 *A.D.* *Was made Earl of Sadberge by King Richard I, who said, "Out of an old Bishop I have made a young Earl." He built St. Cuthbert's, at Darlington, and greatly desired to go as a Crusader to Palestine.*

POER, 1228. *Was first Bishop of Salisbury.*

ANTHONY BEC, 1283. *Took the side of Baliol against Edward I, had great private wealth, and was magnificent in all his ways. He was King of Man, Patriarch of Jerusalem, Earl of Sadberge, Prince Palatine of Durham, and a pure, right-living man.*

HATFIELD, 1345. *He helped at Neville's Cross to drive back the Scottish invaders; and the Choir still celebrate the day with a yearly song.*

FOX, 1494. *Arranged the marriage between Margaret of England and King James IV of Scotland.*

TUNSTAL, 1530. *Lived through "The Reformation" times.*

COSIN, 1660. *On crossing the Tees he received the sword with which Conyers had slain "the laidlye Wurm." He had been driven from his living and banished by the Puritans, and was a staunch maintainer of the ancient prayers and services of our English portion of the Catholic Church.*

LORD CREWE, 1674. *Many a Durham child owes his education to him.*

BUTLER, 1750. *The Author of "The Analogy" between God's ways in Providence and Revelation. He was Rector of Haughton.*

BARRINGTON, 1791.

LIGHTFOOT, 1879-90.

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Scarce had we risen from the ground
When through the air was heard a sound,
As though a goodly company,
With hymn and chanted psalmody,
Were moving from afar our Beaconhill to see;
Who "Holy, Holy, Holy" sung
In an unknown but yet familiar tongue.

We looked; it was a mitred band
From every quarter of our land;
Each held a cross or staff in hand;
Hung on each breast the Holy Rood;
All gazed on us in loving mood;
These founders of our English Church
They seemed our very souls to search.
"Held we the faith which they had taught?
Did we the deeds which they had wrought?
Was ours the Christlike life? to seek
The poor, the suffering, and the weak?
Temperate and pure and true? and strong
To build up right, to put down wrong?"

Their record and their story known
Showed how they loved the English Throne;
British, or Saxon, Churchmen bred,
Each in a holy path had sped;
Each our great English Church had led.
In olden times they'd taught men here
Man to regard and God to fear;
And now we saw them round us near;
St. Aidan with his gentle grace;
St. Cuthbert of the saintly face;
Here Wilfrid with his stately mien;
And Edbert "of the Book" was seen;
There patient, unassuming Chad;
And Colman came, and Aldhun sad.
Often, when clashed the signal far
That called the Wapontake to war,
When, summoned by the beacon flame,
Hither from every hearth men came.

They who next followed, each in place,
Were Prelates of the Norman race;
St. Carileph, the builder wise,
Who bade our Durham Minster rise;
Pudsey, in act and purpose grand,
Who fain would seek the Holy Land
Beside the Saviour's tomb to pray;
And, like a belted earl, men say,
Would with the mitre wear the sword,
E'en at the city of our Lord.
Still Pudsey's skill, the masons say,
In Darlington is fresh to-day,
As when first carved on arch and aisle
Within St. Cuthbert's shapely pile.

The Southrons boast that Poer had planned,
Ere coming to Northumberland,
Their light and tapering Salisbury spire;

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He too stood gazing near our fire,
With daring Bec, the Baliol's friend,
Who would not e'en to Edward bend;
But stretched o'er Hartlepool his power,
And Alnwick held and Barnard's tower;
King, Patriarch, Earl, Prince Palatine,
He deemed himself of Royal line.

Still gladly Durham students own
The gifts of Hatfield, whose fair throne
And tomb adorn the Minster old;
'Twas he who checked King David's pride,
And still his deeds on Redhillside
In sacred hymn are told.

To Fox is due the silken knot
That now binds Englishmen to Scot,
By Tunstal's side he stood;
Calm Tunstal, who, amid the strife
And tumult of a fretted life,
When hate and greed and change were rife,
Still sought the Church's good.
Next Cosin's thoughtful face was seen,
Just so he looked, when through our green
He rode from Sockburn ford,
Bearing the doughty Conyer's sword;
Fit weapon for that still more poisonous snake.*

So showed the mitred host, and made,
In rochet and in cope arrayed,
A mystic semblance half concealed,
Half by the glimmering light revealed.

Others there were, or seemed to be,
Crewe, Barrington, and greatest, he,
Who, ere he reached the Durham throne,
Had lustre on our village thrown;
Butler! e'en here 'twas thine to trace
God's laws in Nature, as in Grace.

Such were the magnates whom we saw,
Who for twelve hundred years, and more,
Twixt Tees and Tweed, by Wear and Tyne,
Had kept Christ's Apostolic line;
True Catholics in rites and Creed;
True English Churchmen; giving heed
Nor to fanatics here at home,
Nor to the Foreigner of Rome.

The long procession thus delayed,
Lingering above our watchfire stayed;
Briton and Saxon, Norman, Dane,
'Twas given to each in turn to reign.

So showed the Pageant to the eye,
Then seemed to pass into the sky,
And in the far off distance die.

* The "other Snake" was the "Rebellion" from 1640-60, which Cromwell, Ireton, Fairfax, and Vane stirred up against the King and the Church, when Charles I, Laud, Strafford, and thousands of others were murdered and massacred by them.

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"*Lines on Bishop Lightfoot.*"

Alas! since first these lines were penned,
He who was comrade, Bishop, friend,
Whose memory can never fade,
Hath in the grave been laid;
God called him hence to peace and rest;
We marvel;—yet His ways are best.
Learned and wise and strong was he;
His was the child's humility,
Such gentleness that he was dear
Alike to pitman and to peer.
England arose to pause beside his bier,
And still on Lightfoot's tomb she drops the heart-drawn tear.

James Wilkie Baron. He was Rector from 1881 to 1887. Educated at Preston Grammar School. Entered St. John's College, Cambridge, and was placed second in the Senior Optimes; Bishop Moorhouse was the first in the list. He was Mathematical Master at Richmond Grammar School, in the North Riding of Yorkshire. He was appointed Vicar of Trawden in 1887. He died near Gloucester about 1910.

1887-1911: *Wm. Lancaster Taylor, M.A.*, Exhibitioner, Durham University.

We give an extract from the *Stockton and Darlington Times*, June 17th, 1911:—

The many friends of the Rev. W. L. Taylor will learn with regret that he has resigned the Rectory of Sadberge. Twenty-four years is a substantial portion of the working life of a man, and such a man as Mr. Taylor could not remain in one parish for so long a period without making an impression, and leaving a permanent memorial behind. Anyone who has been over the beautiful Parish Church at Sadberge, and heard the story of the neglect into which it had fallen, will be tempted to apply to the retiring Rector the Roman historian's apt description of the Emperor, who found it brick and left it marble.

Mr. Taylor leaves one of the most delightful little Churches in the Diocese, where he found one of the most unattractive.

During the twenty-four years £1,200 has been expended on the beautification of the Church, and nobody who looks upon the result will fail to recognise that the money has been well spent.

How the money was raised, in a parish of so small population, and no wealthy patron at hand, is a problem that can only be solved by those who know Mr. Taylor best. He has always shown himself a sound champion of right, alike in the parish and in the Diocese at large, and he goes into retirement leaving an inspiring example to his successor, and a pleasant memory to his many friends.

It is a remarkable fact that every Bishop of Manchester, since the patronage was transferred, has appointed a Rector to Sadberge: the first Rector by Bishop Prince Lee, the second by Bishop Fraser, the third by Bishop Moorhouse, and in 1911 Bishop Knox appointed the present Rector.

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REV. W. LANCASTER TAYLOR, M.A.
RECTOR 1887 - 1911.

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Sadberge Church Choir, 1900. It would hardly be a history of the place if we passed over those who served its Choir.

We give overleaf a photograph of the 1900 Choir. It was mixed—eight females wearing uniform straw hats when in the Choir, and four men and nine boys wearing cassocks and surplices. The Choir was under the direction of Mrs. Taylor, and the musical services were reverent, devotional, and congregational.

In the war (1914-18) Sadberge has proved worthy of its historic past—a large percentage of its men have died and suffered for their country.

This Choir photograph is 1900—yet the German War was 1914. Now fourteen years make a change in a choir of boys, they become men. This Choir, in 1914, proved its loyalty. One became Captain Woodward in the Durhams, and was severely wounded and invalided home. Another, Percy Richard Alderson, became an analytical chemist in London, and joined the Army and was killed in battle, and his brother, George Benson Alderson, was severely wounded in the jaw, and his life was despaired of, yet, on recovery, he went out again. Another member, Addison Parnaby, fell in action. Thus this small Choir proved, in the nation's trial, that they were worthy of their historic Sadberge.

Taking the villagers generally, they nobly came to the nation's help. About thirty joined the Army, and about ten were killed or missing, and the village may be proud of its heroes during the War, 1914-18.

The group has been ravaged by death. Two members have passed into the mysteries of the higher life.

We venture to think that Sadbergians will be pleased to have this permanent record of its Choir in 1900.

The Bradford Family.

The late War has made this family famous. One son obtained the D.S.O., two other sons secured the coveted V.C., the highest military honour for bravery on the field, and the other received the M.C.

This book is a History of Sadberge, and very few know that they were for some time parishioners of Sadberge, but, as they resided nearer other churches than their Parish Church, they were seldom seen in Sadberge Church.

The head of this remarkable family was George Bradford, C.E., and consulting mine engineer, and he was managing director of the Wire Works at Fighting Cocks. For several years he resided at Morton Palms, and was a gentleman farmer there, the land belonging to Mr. Scurfield. As a parishioner, I made his acquaintance, which continued until his death.

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Whilst parishioners I knew the family intimately, and I venture to think that the boys owed much to their home training. Whilst at Morton Palms they attended Darlington Grammar School, and, on their return home, their father supervised their lessons and joined in their games. Cricket and bowls were played, and occasionally they put on boxing gloves. The eldest became captain of the Durham County Cricket Club, the hero of Zeebrugge was the champion light-weight boxer in the Navy—honours which, in their beginnings, may probably be traced to their Morton Palms residence.

A difference between landlord and tenant as to the quantity of game led Mr. Bradford to buy Milbank House, and to remove to Darlington.

Mr. Bradford did not live to know the brilliant career of his four sons in the German War, 1914-1918.

As their careers deserve some permanent record, and since I knew all four sons, I will give a sketch of them.

Thomas became captain in the Durham Light Infantry, and served in the early years of the War in Flanders, and was wounded and invalided home; he received the D.S.O. decoration, and *alone* survives, the other three are amongst the noble dead.

George bore his father's name, and joined the Navy, and was long serving on H.M.S. *Orion*. When the attack was made at Zeebrugge he commanded the *Iris II*. He was killed in the attack, yet was awarded the V.C. "for most conspicuous gallantry" in that naval action, April, 1918, when, without a moment's hesitation, he went to certain death. When the *Mole* was reached great difficulty was experienced in fixing the parapet anchors, owing to the motion of the vessel. Lieut.-Commander Bradford climbed the derrick, which carried a parapet anchor and was rigged out over the port side. During this climb the ship was surging up and down, and the derrick crashing on the *Mole*. Waiting his opportunity, he jumped with the parapet anchor on to the *Mole*, and placed it into position. Immediately he was riddled with bullets from machine guns, and fell into the sea, between the *Mole* and his ship. Attempts to rescue him failed. "His action was one of absolute self-sacrifice. Without a moment's hesitation he went to certain death, though his action enabled storming parties to land." We are proud to record this act of self-sacrifice for King and Country, and of George Bradford, commanding *Iris II.*, we say: "*Floreat in perpetuam.*"

James was the third son, and he chose the profession of engineer, and served his articles in Newcastle-on-Tyne.

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BADBERGE CHURCH CHOIR, 1900.

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When the War broke out in 1914, he joined the Durham Light Infantry. He was awarded a commission, and was wounded in Flanders. He received the M.C., but died in Flanders for his country.

Roland was the youngest of the four brothers. He early chose the military profession, and held a commission in the Faithful Durhams when war was declared in 1914. His promotion was unusually rapid. In conferring the coveted V.C., the King said that it was "For fearless energy under fire, and skilful leadership in attack, whereby he saved the situation on the right flank of his brigade and of the division." Soon after he was made "Brigadier" in the British Army, at the early age of twenty-five, the youngest in the Army. He was killed by a German shell, November, 1917. An officer in the Brigade states that his death was as follows:—"After mess he took a stroll *alone*, before retiring to rest, and, as he did not return, search was made, and he was found killed by a shell from the Germans." This officer was formerly a member of Sadberge Church Choir, and he knew Brigadier Bradford well, and testifies to the high esteem and affection his men had for him, their devotion and love, and that he only needed to lead and they followed." Such brave men for God, King, and Country, deserve to be held in honour. *Floreat!*

On April 3rd, 1919, the King, at Buckingham Palace, in presenting the two V.C.'s won by Commander Bradford and Brigadier Bradford, thus addressed Mrs. Bradford:—"I well remember decorating two of your sons; I am so sorry for you. It is a most remarkable thing to have two V.C.'s in one family, and you may be very proud of them." Mrs. Bradford says:—"The King was so kind and sympathetic. He is a father!"

An officer in Brigadier Bradford's Brigade says:—"The Brigadier ordered the band, every evening, to play the tune to the well-known hymn, 'Abide with me,' not to make them goody, but to turn their thoughts to the One Refuge."

It was my privilege to number the Bradford family amongst the parishioners of Sadberge, and to know them as a parson is privileged to know his flock, and when they removed to Millbank, Darlington, the friendship was continued.

I record a striking incident in Roland's career. After he was made a Brigadier he quietly visited his widowed mother at Darlington, and the Mayor of Darlington, having heard of his presence at Millbank House, sent a message that if he would fix a day Darlington would give him a public reception. He quietly returned to his military duties, and was never in Darlington again.

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CHAPTER VIII.

A Private Chapel made a Parish Church.

From 1189 to 1859—nearly 700 years—the Bishops of Durham, as Lords of the Wapontake and Manor, claimed the "*Capella*" at Sadberge as their *private chapel*.

Bishop Maltby proposed, in 1856, to make Sadberge a parish, its boundaries to be the townships of Sadberge and Morton Palms.

At that time, the township of Sadberge was in *two* parishes—Long Newton and Haughton-le-Skerne. The following *farms* on the east side of the township, viz., Newton Grange and those owned by the Allans—Bumper Hall, Prospect House—together with the houses on the east side of the village, including the "Buck Inn," and all the houses as far as the butcher's shop, were in Long Newton parish. This portion of the township paid Easter dues to the Rector of Long Newton, and there was a "*Sadberge Pew*" in Long Newton Church.

When, in 1189, Bishop Pudsey became Lord of the Wapontake of Sadberge, the Balliols were the Lords of Long Newton. They claimed to be *outside* the Wapontake of Sadberge, and that their rights were derived direct from the Crown. The dispute between the Lord of the Saxon Wapontake and the Balliols was long, but eventually a Convention in 1231, between Bishop Poer and the Balliols, declared Long Newton to be in the Wapontake of Sadberge, and the Bishop of Durham became patron of Long Newton, until an Order in Council transferred the patronage of Long Newton Church to the Bishop of Chester.

It is a singular fact that when the constitution of Sadberge parish was proposed in 1856 the east side of Sadberge township was in the parish of Long Newton. I wonder if this was a survival of the long controversy between the Lord of the Wapontake and Manor of Sadberge and the Balliols, as Lords of Long Newton?

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The rest of the township of Sadberge was in the parish of Haughton-le-Skerne. The private chapel of the Bishop, as Lord of the Wapontake and Manor of Sadberge, was in this part of the township belonging to Haughton. It was quite natural that, generally, the chapel was regarded as a Chapel of Ease to Haughton.

When constituted the new parish embraced two townships:

(i) Sadberge.

(ii) Morton Palms.

Sadberge township was only *partly* in the parish of Haughton, but the township of Morton Palms was *entirely* in Haughton.

"Morton Palms" is a peculiar name, derived from "*Brian Palms*," who, in 1569, married the heiress of Ratcliffe of Tunstall.

In 1587 Thomas Cromwell confiscated Little Burdon Farm and its Tithe, and it was given to a favourite of the king.

An Order in Council, August 5th, 1859, "constituted the two townships of Sadberge and Morton Palms into the parish of Sadberge, according to Bishop Maltby's instructions in 1856."

Thus the Bishop's first condition was fulfilled, and Sadberge became a *Parish*, and its private chapel a parish church.

Bishop Maltby's second condition was: "The Endowment shall be the Tithe in the two annexed townships in the new parish, together with the Glebe lands in the new parish."

We proceed to relate the *transfer of the Tithe* to the new parish, as its Endowment.

The usual clause was added: "At the next vacancy at Haughton." Now this did not occur until 1862. The new Rector of Haughton conveyed the Tithes in the two townships to the parish of Sadberge in 1862. But he ignored the Bishop's condition, that "the Glebe lands in the new parish should also form part of its Endowment."

We are writing history, and as I am the only survivor who gave effect to it, I shall relate how this act of justice was withheld for fifty years, and the many difficulties placed in the way, by those in authority, to prevent its realization.

Why was it withheld by the new Rector of Haughton in 1862? The parties are dead, and the grave is *silent*. He was son-in-law to the patron, the Bishop; but up to his death, in 1886, this Glebe land, in the parish of Sadberge, was not conveyed to the new parish. We may ask why was it withheld? We cannot answer.

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In 1886 there was a vacancy at Haughton, and my predecessor, as Rector, approached the Bishop of Durham, with whom he had been at school and Cambridge. He reminded the Bishop, as patron of Haughton, of Bishop Maltby's condition in 1856, that "the *Glebe* lands in the parish of Sadberge should form part of the Endowment."

The Bishop's reply was simply: "It is not convenient to give effect to Bishop Maltby's condition." Probably doing what we *ought* is not often convenient, though always a duty. The reply of his old friend and schoolfellow must have surprised Mr. Moorsom.

It was some years before I discovered why it was inconvenient, in 1886, to convey this Glebe in Sadberge to the Endowment of the benefice.

Mr. Moorsom laid the whole case before me, as Rector, in the hope that I would try to secure the transfer of the Glebe in Sadberge to augment its Endowment. I cannot explain why it was not done in 1862, nor in 1886. However, I will relate how this Glebe was secured.

When the vacancy at Haughton (in 1886) took place, the Bishop of Durham naturally sought to be patron of St. Cuthbert's, Darlington, built by his famous predecessor, Bishop Pudsey. The great difficulty was that a celebrated Duke was the patron of St. Cuthbert's, Darlington.

Probably, the Bishop's proposal was:—

(i) An *Exchange* of Patronage: the Duke to transfer St. Cuthbert's, Darlington, to the Bishop of Durham, and the Bishop proposed to transfer a delightful benefice, nearer Raby, to the Duke, a more valuable benefice than Darlington, double its value.

(ii) He proposed to augment the *Endowment* of St. Cuthbert's by adding £200 *per annum from Haughton-le-Skerne*. To many, this may savour of simony, yet it is to be remembered that the large Endowment attached to Haughton came *through St. Cuthbert* and the Prior and Monks of Durham.

Such, I believe, was the proposal to the Duke. Practically, the Duke's reply was: "God forbid that I should give the inheritance of my fathers!"

The new Rector, in 1886, accepted the condition, viz.: that if the exchange was effected, he had £200 per annum less. Now, the income at Sadberge had decreased from £87 per £100 from Tithe Rent charges to £59 per £100. This, in 1887, was Sadberge's *only* income, and it was not £150 per annum when all the legal charges were paid.

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I was urged to secure the transfer of the Glebe, intended as part of the Endowment in 1856. I sought and obtained an interview at Auckland Castle, and stated the *facts*.

The reply was: "If I grant it, I shall impoverish one of my own benefices for that of another Bishop."

I replied: "My Lord, I always regarded the Church as a *Body*."

Not another word passed. At length the silence was so painful that I said: "I will go home."

No reply; and I, accompanied by the Bishop, went through the drawing-room, and, at the head of the stairs, he bade me "Good-afternoon."

Utterly disheartened, I declared that I should make no more efforts to recover the Glebe lands. "*Necessitas non legem noscit.*"

When Parish Councils came into existence, the Charities of Sadberge attracted the attention of the members of the Parish Council.

The Charities were administered according to the scheme of the Charity Commissioners in 1885. The Trustees were the Rector and Wardens, and the Overseers were superseded by two life members, elected by the Vestry. The aim of the Parish Council was to secure the power of electing these two Life Trustees.

It was necessary to consult the Bishop as to the course the Trustees should pursue. I visited Auckland Castle to obtain the Bishop's advice.

After the consultation, he accompanied me to the stairs, and took me by the hand, and said: "You will get the Glebe."

It was my turn to be astonished. To my surprise, during that year he sent me a cheque, the value of the year's rent of the Glebe in Sadberge. *I knew by experience how more blessed it is to give than to receive.*

Evidently the Bishop meant to carry out Bishop Maltby's intention of 1856. How true it is that man proposes!

The Bishop, on account of ill-health, retired to Bournemouth in the autumn of 1889. Here my predecessor renewed the intercourse of School and University, and saw the Bishop, who entered into rest, December 21st, 1889.

Afterwards, Mr. Moorsom wrote me: "The Bishop, during his illness, gave the Archdeacon a charge that Sadberge had a just claim against Haughton, and he hoped the Archdeacon would see that justice was done to Sadberge." My reply at Auckland Castle had gone home.

I wrote the Archdeacon, asking for an interview. This he declined, saying that he had already named the matter to

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the Bishop and my Archdeacon. The most interested party denied this, so I was under the necessity of consulting the new Bishop.

The Chaplain fixed an interview in a few weeks, but it proved to be the day when the Lay Readers of the Diocese annually met at Auckland Castle. It was a very unfortunate fixture, and when I saw the Bishop he said: "What made you come to-day?"

I replied that the day was fixed by the Chaplain a month ago, and that I preferred to retire and come on a convenient day.

He sternly said: "State your business." I stated that I came to ask that Bishop Maltby's condition in 1856 should be carried out.

He replied: "I cannot understand why my predecessor did not do it when Haughton was vacant in 1886." I stated the *conditions* on which the new Rector was appointed as the reason. Evidently he was greatly surprised that I should *know* the secrets of the appointment to Haughton.

He rang the Chaplain's bell, and when he came, said: "Bring me the Haughton papers *re* the appointment in 1886." They were brought and carefully perused. Eventually he said: "I see that there is something in what you say, but you wish to force me."

I replied: "My Lord, I have no desire to force you, but I ask for justice, which for many years has been denied to Sadberge benefice. Personally, I can do without this Glebe land, yet I do ask for justice, the carrying out of Bishop Maltby's intention, and your predecessor's *promise to me* in 1889."

It was to me a very painful interview, though it terminated with the promise: "I see that these letters will give me the right to communicate with the Rector of Haughton."

This was my *last* interview with the Bishop of Durham as patron of Haughton, and without whose consent the transfer of the Sadberge Glebe lands was impossible.

The history of its transfer entered on an entirely new phase, and is changed from Auckland Castle to Haughton Rectory.

Soon after my visit to the Bishop I was driving through Haughton, when the Rector stopped me, and said: "I have a letter from the Bishop relating to the Sadberge Glebe. Will you come and bring your papers, and let me see them?"

I agreed. As I am the only survivor of the interested parties, I gladly testify to the willingness of the Rector of Haughton to do justice to Sadberge.

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He said: "I will write the Bishop, as patron of Haughton, that I am ready to convey the Glebe in Sadberge to the benefice, AT ONCE!"

These forty-four acres were managed by an agent in York. His visits were few, and the tenants took out all they could and put in as little as they could. The forty-four acres returned £24 per annum, less agent's charges.

The negotiations, at the *Bishop's request*, were between the Rector of Haughton and himself.

(i) The patron proposed to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners to transfer the forty-four acres in the Parish of Sadberge to augment the endowment, but the income arising therefrom the Rector of Sadberge, for two years, must pay to the Rector of Haughton. (It is business that when land is transferred its income is also. It is a common gibe that parsons are not business men, and this proposal indicates that scholarly Bishops are not necessarily business men. Naturally the reply was, if the land is conveyed, no such condition can be inserted.)

(ii) The Bishop then suggested to the Rector that if the Glebe was conveyed at once, he should extract from me a *promise* to pay the Glebe Rents to the Rector of Haughton for *two years*. (It was an unworthy proposal. I cannot understand these difficulties except on the ground that it was impoverishing one of his *own* benefices for that of another Bishop. The Rector had carried out the promise to rebuild his Church, yet I *knew* that it was free from debt. I said to the Rector: "If you convey the Glebe *at once*, I will subscribe £10 to your Restoration Fund, and I will give you £5 *now*, and the rest when the Glebe is conveyed." The Bishop and Rector so arranged matters that *two years elapsed before this Glebe*, in the Parish of Sadberge, *was conveyed* to the benefice.)

(iii) After its conveyance to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, the Rector wrote asking for the other £5.

My reply was: (1) "My condition, that it should be conveyed at *once*, had not been complied with." (2) "If he proved to my satisfaction that Haughton Church Fund was in debt, I would send a cheque for £5." I knew it was *not*, and I heard no more.

The condition of 1856 at last was realised, and the Glebe lands in the Parish of Sadberge formed part of its Endowment.

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I had no experience as a landowner, but my early training in the cotton trade had taught me that £24 a year, from forty-four acres, forty of which were grass, savoured of something wrong. So I asked a practical farmer, who had charge of farms belonging to Messrs. Bolckow & Vaughan, to survey the forty-four acres, and give me a written report. He reported :—

(i) The 4 acres of arable (rent £4) he advised its sale to some adjoining landowner.
  (*a*) On account of its inaccessibility.
  (*b*) Liability to floods.

I sold it for £150, and added Tithe, 11s. per annum. This should have given the benefice a gain, but I began to learn how lawyers can nibble at your capital (some of my truest friends are lawyers). However, the result was an annual income approaching £4 10s. 0d., with no deduction for repairs and cleaning sluices, etc.

(ii) There were the grass lands (40 acres) remaining, and he recommended :—
  (*a*) The 32 acres of grass land have a cow-byre. I recommend that the other 8 acres of grass land be joined, and the 40 acres let as one small holding, and instead of a rent of £20, there is little doubt that £1 per acre can easily be realised, or £40 per annum.
  (*b*) In order to do this, a *farm house* will have to be built on the 32 acres, adjoining the Stockton high road.

Financial difficulties I have frequently faced, but at this date Tithe Rent charge was about £59 per £100, and my educational expenses were at least £300 per annum. This proposal to erect a farmhouse created a financial difficulty.

Mr. Eden, of Beamish Park, had been an unfailing friend. I sent him the *Report* and suggested :—

(i) A loan of £100 for 10 years, without interest, to be paid in 10 payments of £10 per annum.
(ii) Or a gift of £50.

The reply was : " I am 80 years of age, and too old to lend, but I am so persuaded of the desirability of erecting a house and making it a small holding, that I enclose cheque for £50."

Greatly encouraged to attempt to build a farmhouse, and as Socialism was taught by those in authority, I sought an interview with the Bishop. Again I was made to feel that I held a benefice belonging to another Bishop. I stated my position and intention to build a farmhouse.

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I gave him Mr. Eden's letter. When he read it, he said: "This is one of the kindest letters I have seen since I entered the Diocese. I have heard of Mr. Eden, but have never met him."

I said: "My Lord, there is £50, and I am prepared to add £25." He simply recommended my *borrowing* the rest from Queen Anne's Bounty. My experience had taught me to avoid this source. It was unfortunate that the patron was *another* Bishop.

I was compelled to seek help to build. I appealed to Mr. Pennyman, the principal landowner in Sadberge. His agent came and surveyed the thirty-two acres. He informed me: "If you go on a little longer it will become a fox cover"—a very true statement; however, the result of this survey was a donation of £25. Mr. Scurfield had land in the parish, yet none in Sadberge township, but he kindly subscribed £10. My patron curtly wrote that all he had for charitable gifts was disposed of.

I now had about £115, including my £25, towards the cost. I had plans drawn, became clerk of works, contracted for bricks and joiners' work, and paid workmen for their labour. I kept an account of all monies expended, and when the house was erected, and the farm *let*, I again saw my Bishop, presented the accounts, which showed that I had, in addition to my subscription of £25, expended over £100 *more than had been subscribed.*

He said: "It is the cheapest house I ever heard of, and you had better apply to Queen Anne's Bounty."

I did not, and these forty-four acres, returning only £24, when transferred, return in *Rent*, in 1911, between £50 and £60 per annum, and the Ecclesiastical Commissioners met my efforts by a grant of £25 per annum, as an addition to the Endowment.

So, as I look back at the struggle and its results, I feel something attempted, something done for historic Sadberge parish.

When Sadberge was a Conventional District, from 1856 to 1859, the patronage was in the Bishop of Durham, and one condition was that the Bishop of Durham be patron. Why a place where the Bishop was Lord of its Wapontake from 1189 should be given to the Bishop of Manchester is a mystery, yet the Ecclesiastical Commissioners transferred the patronage by an Order in Council, August 3rd, 1859.

This was a violation of Bishop Maltby's condition, when he proposed to make his chapel at Sadberge a parish church, and also provide an endowment. That the patron

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of Sadberge should be the Bishop of Durham is in harmony with its historic links.

As this is the only condition of 1856 *not yet realized*, and I am in my eightieth year, I propose to leave a record of my attempts to secure the restoration of the patronage of Sadberge to the Bishop of Durham.

This matter I have talked over with the three Bishops holding the See during the twenty-four years I was Rector. All regretted the cutting of the historic link, and all agreed in the desirability of the transfer to Durham, and all decided that proposals must emanate from its patron, the Bishop of Manchester.

When Bishop Moorhouse, as patron in 1887, nominated me as Rector, I knew nothing of the historic link of Sadberge with the See of Durham, but I soon discovered that I held a benefice in the patronage of another Bishop, and my *patron* curtly answered any appeal with the reply: "When I have appointed, I have done."

So long as the Bishop of Manchester is patron, any and every Rector will hold a very similar position to Mahomet's coffin—neither in Heaven nor yet on earth, for, on the one hand, he will be told: "You belong to another Bishop," and, on the other, he will be told: "When I have appointed, I have done"—a position I held 24 years.

I purpose to record my efforts to transfer the patronage of Sadberge to the Bishop of Durham, and I deeply regret that Bishop Maltby's condition of 1856 is *not yet realized* in 1920.

The Bishop of Manchester, in a letter dated July 9th, 1919, wrote me:—

> I am in receipt of yours of July 5th. An effort at exchange has failed. If I make it now, I do in effect make it at my successor's expense. It seems to me fairer to leave the question to be dealt with when the whole patronage question is reviewed by the National Church Assembly. Please let it rest.
>
> Yours very faithfully,
>
> E. A. MANCHESTER.

The Bishop's letter I sent to Auckland Castle. I give the Bishop of Durham's reply:—

> The Bishop desires me to thank you for your letter, and to return its enclosure. He is interested to hear of your History, but regrets that he does not see his way to reopen the patronage question with the Bishop of Manchester.
>
> I am, yours very truly,
>
> EDWARD H. MARSH, *Chaplain*.

As these letters terminate my efforts, since 1911, to give effect to Bishop Maltby's condition in 1856, when he provided an *Endowment* for the new parish of Sadberge,

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that the Bishop of Durham should be its patron, and as I have failed, I shall give the history of my efforts since 1911. Posterity can adjudicate.

I sought, early in January, 1911, an interview with the Bishop of Manchester, to lay before him, as patron, the desirability that he should propose an exchange of the patronage of Sadberge, and restore it to the See of Durham. I pointed out the incongruity of a Manchester clergyman occupying a benefice with such venerable historic links that the Earl's coronet surrounding the mitre of the Bishop of Durham is as "*Earl of Sadberge.*" I pointed out that any and every Manchester parson occupying the benefice was regarded as an *intruder*. I urged an exchange of the patronage with the Bishop of Durham.

He replied: "*Give me a vacancy—and THEN!*"

In July, 1911, I gave him a vacancy. The exchange of patronage is not made in 1920! The Bishop of Manchester's letter, July 9th, 1919, shows he does not intend any exchange of patronage. Why this delay? I know the Bishop of Durham is ready and willing to exchange the patronage with Manchester, and offer a benefice of equal value.

On July 18th, 1917, the Bishop of Manchester's secretary wrote: "The Bishop desires me to acknowledge, with thanks, your letter of the 7th, which has his attention."

August 28th, 1918, I wrote to him:—

> I have discovered the following facts *Re* patronage of Sadberge:
> (i) Bishop Maltby's secretary, March 3rd, 1856, sent to the Commissioners the draft surrender of the patronage.
> (ii) The secretary makes the surrender of the patronage in favour of the Bishop of *Durham*.
> (iii) The Order in Council, October 22nd, 1856, gave the patronage to the Bishop of *Durham*.
>
> During Bishop Maltby's life, the patron of Sadberge was the Bishop of Durham. Bishop Maltby died 1859, and an Order in Council, 29th July, 1859, conveyed the patronage of Sadberge to the See of Manchester, *along with eight other benefices*, viz., Haltwhistle, Eaglescliffe, Etherley, Esh, Penshaw, Collierley, etc. These are new *facts* to me, and I trust that your Lordship will give them consideration, and arrange an exchange of Sadberge with the Bishop of Durham.

As nothing was done to give effect to this act of justice, I again wrote to the Bishop, who replied:—

> I know your keenness in the matter of Sadberge, and I appreciate your whole-hearted interest in the Parish. At the same time I cannot say that with other work, which I have in hand, I feel disposed to undertake the exchange of patronage. It involves a good many questions, and if it is to be done at all, I think it had better be done by one of my successors.

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This was written January 21st, 1918. I replied, January 28rd, 1918 :—

> When I asked the Bishop of Durham to carry out Bishop Maltby's intention, and convey the Glebe in Sadberge to the benefice, he asked me: "Why did not my predecessor do it?" I gave a good reason, namely, that he proposed to take £200 per annum from Haughton to augment the endowment of Darlington, and he could not take also forty-four acres of Glebe and give it to Sadberge. "But," I continued, "what could I say to your successor? Certainly I could not justify this historic wrong of 1859. Let me urge an exchange, and, believe me, I have no axe to grind, yet I am sure it would be to the advantage of the *Church*; it would undo the wrong of 1859, and give effect to Bishop Maltby's instructions in 1856: that the patron of the new Parish should be the Bishop of Durham, who provided the endowment of Sadberge. I cannot understand this attitude."

What has been the practice of his predecessors?

(1) *Haltwhistle.* This is in the Diocese of Newcastle, but in 1859 was, along with Sadberge, transferred to the See of Manchester. It was pointed out to Bishop *Moorhouse* the desirability of the patron being the Bishop of Newcastle. Bishop Moorhouse transferred Haltwhistle to the See of Newcastle *without any exchange* of another benefice.

(2) *Eaglescliffe.* This also was transferred, in 1859, to Manchester along with Sadberge. Bishop *Fraser* exchanged Eaglescliffe for that of the Parish Church of Chorley, and the new patron had to promise to appoint the then Vicar of Bolton, in Lancashire, on the next vacancy. Colourable simony. Eaglescliffe was soon after this transfer sold, and is now in *private* patronage.

At present I see no way to give effect to Bishop Maltby's condition in 1856—that the patron of Sadberge should be the Bishop of Durham, who, for nearly seven centuries, was the Lord of the Wapontake and Manor of Sadberge.

To me, the results of my efforts are most disappointing, as it is the *only* condition Bishop Maltby made, when he made Sadberge a Parish in 1856, which remains *unfulfilled.*

That the readers of this History may judge my lack of diplomatic cunning, I will give a copy of my letter to the Bishop of Manchester, which preceded the refusal. On July 9th, 1919, I wrote :—

> Excuse my again reminding you of Bishop Maltby's condition, in 1856, when he constituted his *Private* Chapel into a Parish Church, and endowed it, viz.: "The patron must be the Bishop of Durham." He died in 1859, and was patron of Sadberge, 1856-1859.

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In 1859 Sadberge, along with eight other Durham benefices, was transferred from the Bishop of Durham to the Bishop of Manchester. This transfer of Sadberge took place in spite of the fact: (1) that from 1189 the Bishop of Durham had been Lord of the Wapontake and Manor of Sadberge, and was Earl of Sadberge; (2) the Mitre of the See of Durham is encircled with an Earl's Coronet, as Earl of Sadberge; (3) the endowment of Sadberge was provided by the Bishop of Durham.

It cannot be surprising that he claimed to be the patron of Sadberge. It is very human for the Bishop of Durham to regard any Manchester parson, made Rector of Sadberge, as an *intruder*.

In 1911, you said to me: "Give me a vacancy and *then*." Now you say your successor must act. Nearing eighty, I am not likely to know him, and what could I say when he asked: "Why did not Bishop Knox transfer it?" I know no reason why not. Bishop Moorhouse transferred the benefice of Haltwhistle to the See of Newcastle without any *quid pro quo*, and Bishop Fraser exchanged Eaglescliffe for Chorley.

In your letter you remind me of pertinacity. "*Necessitas non legem noscit.*"

In 1911, your conversation gave me the impression that if you received a *quid pro quo*, there would be little difficulty. This I know you would receive.

The Psalmist *asks*: "Who shall ascend the hill of the Lord?" The reply is: "He that sweareth to his neighbour and disappointeth him not." Certainly I am bitterly disappointed, and, had I known what I now know, *no vacancy* would have taken place.

I have *no axe* to grind, and nothing to gain but the interest of the Church at Sadberge. These spur me thus to urge that you give effect to Bishop Maltby's condition of sixty-three years ago, and take steps to exchange the patronage of Sadberge with the Bishop of Durham, who justly says: "Overtures must emanate from the Bishop of Manchester."

My readers can form their own opinions; to me it proves the fallibility of Bishops.

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CHAPTER IX.

MISCELLANEOUS: WARDENS' ACCOUNTS, ETC., BRIEFS, FREEHOLDERS.

Wardens' Accounts for 1743-1744 :—

1743: Richard Pemberton presented the Accounts of Expenditure for the Chapel of Sadberge, as *Warden* :—

	£	s.	d.
Paid for Book of Articles		1	0
,, ,, 10 quarts of Wine ...	1	3	0
,, ,, Presentments		4	0
,, ,, Court Fees		13	0
,, ,, Bread		0	6
,, ,, Ringing for 4 days ...		4	0
,, ,, Washing Linening ...		3	0
,, Robert Mabury (cutting Church Hedge)		2	6
Total Expenses for 1743:	£2	17	6

The meeting levied a rate of one farthing in the £. This realised £3 8s. 11d.: *Credit Balance*, 11s. 5d.

Wardens' Accounts for 1744 :—	s.	d.
2 quarts Wine for Whitsuntide ...	3	0
Shovel and Spade	3	0
Journey to Durham and Fees ...	3	6
Book for Town Accounts	2	0
1 quart Wine, Michaelmas ...	1	0
2 ,, ,, Christmas	3	0
1 ,, ,, Good Friday ...	1	0
2 ,, ,, Easter	3	0
8 days' cutting Church Hedge ...	5	0
Ironwork for Belfry	4	0
Woodwork ,, ,, ...	4	0
Cutting and Carting Whins ...	4	0
Journey to Durham and Fees ...	13	0
Washing Linening	4	0
Besom	0	6
Total Expenses for 1744:	£3	16	5

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The meeting laid a rate which realized £4 2s. 4d. (*Note:* In both years they paid their debts and do not account for balances—11s. 5d. and 5s. 11d.)

Their proceedings are signed :—

MATTHEW SOULBY, *Minister.*
RICHARD GARMONDSWAY.
JOHN ADAMSON.
WILLY HALLANAM.
ED. COUTS.

There are many interesting features in these Accounts. Note from these Accounts :—

(i) *The Working of the Test Act.* This was enacted in 1678, that all who held public appointments, civil or otherwise, were compelled to take an oath against Transubstantiation, and all who held public offices must be communicants. It was passed when Charles II was King, and repealed 1828. In 1743 the Act had been in force seventy years, and these Accounts show the results. In a population of under 500, ten quarts of wine were used in 1743, and in 1744, eight quarts were used at Communion. At that time they seem to have celebrated only at the *great* festivals. This pernicious Act degraded the most sacred institution of the Christian religion to mere drinking, and was really a bribe, for no civil office could be held unless a person Communicated at the altars of the Church. We may thank God for the change from the degradation of 1744 to the more reverent and more frequent Celebrations of the twentieth century. The great mystery—"He that eateth My flesh and drinketh My blood *hath* eternal life, and I will raise him up at the last day" (*St. John* vi, 54)—has been rescued from the eating and drinking so vividly described by St. Paul (I *Cor.* xi), for which, *Laus Deo!*

(ii) *The Cheapness of Labour.* In 1744 a man received 7½d. per day. Some will say: "What a shame!" It is not an improbability that 7½d. per day would provide as much food and shelter as the exorbitant wages of 1919. A sheep could be bought in Queen Elizabeth's day for *one penny!* In 1744 most labourers worked honestly. The maxim, "Get as much as you can, and do as little as you can," is truly *modern!* True, labour conditions are greatly and justly improved since 1744, yet in our day the rendering of real and honest work, and giving your best efforts for wages, is at a *discount* with

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too many workers. I am an old man and regard this decay in honest labour and doing to others as you would they should do to you as the fruit of the pernicious principle in our schools of not teaching children their duty to God and their neighbours. It is still true, "What a man soweth, *that* shall he also reap," applies to *nations*. Our educational system has not given prominence to God and duty, and our sad condition, in the lack of a high tone in morals, is the result.

(iii) *Four Shillings paid for cutting Whins.* This may seem strange, but I presume that rushes were not at hand. In other places, especially in Lancashire, at a certain time, rushes were cut and carted to the church and spread over the flagged floor, for they had no hot-water apparatus. In Sadberge, in 1744, the Warden paid for the cutting and carting of *whins* for the floor of Sadberge Chapel, for warmth during winter. Modern appliances render unnecessary either cutting of whins or rushes for church floors. "Rushbearings," and, in Sadberge, "Whinbearings," were festive occasions, and originally religious festivals.

Village Stocks. Sadberge possessed its "Village Stocks." Where were they placed? This village has displayed a *faculty* for removing all traces of everything ancient. Even the modern "*Parish Council*," which was supposed to be the guardian of privileges long enjoyed, decreed the removal of the *County* Pinfold, which stood on Rynkneild Street, leaving not a trace behind of the fact that their village was a County, and its Pinfold a *County Pinfold*. Who removed them, or took possession of the Stocks, or destroyed them, I know not. I do know some of the places they occupied :—

(i) The Porch of the *Norman* Church. As this was removed in 1832, we know where they stood about ninety years ago. A communicant testified to me that she had stood nightly for a week watching for body-snatchers, and the Stocks were in the south porch of the Norman Church at the time.

(ii) They occupied a site at the foot of the ash-tree, close to the south gate leading to the Church. Probably when this Norman Church was removed, in 1832, the Stocks were placed at the foot of this tree.

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(iii) They were placed near the Manor House granary wall, on the village green. Thomasina Pammerley, who was twenty-five years old when the Norman Church was taken away, and ninety-three when she died, lived opposite the Manor House, and she said: "I have seen a man in the Stocks when they were against the wall of the Manor House granary." She was an oddity, and penurious, for though she called herself "a Methody," she was not a member of that society, as this required a payment of one penny a week and a shilling per quarter. However, her testimony may be relied upon, for she had *seen* a man in the Stocks when they were against the granary wall. Probably she knew the name of the man, but this she withheld, for when she *would*, she would, and when she would *not*, she would not.

Where are the *Stocks?* I don't know.

Where is Bishop Kellaw's *Candelabrum*, made for *mea Capella Sadburgia*, dating 1315?

Where is the Norman Church of 1266?

To this last question it is only recently that any answer could be given. To any person loving antiquities, this destructive spirit in Sadberge is most lamentable.

The Stocks were effectual Temperance reformers. They placed the drunkard where he was the butt for jeers, scoffs and insults from bystanders. Mischievous boys could tease, prick with pins, the victim who could not defend himself. "Five shillings and costs," the modern magisterial punishment for drunkenness, only affects the man's pocket; the Stocks touched his pride and self-esteem, and this ancient reformer would be now an effectual helper to the practice of Temperance. I have seen a man in the *Stocks*, and can judge its *moral* effects.

Body-snatching. This was a practice in the early part of last century. It was an illegal method for securing subjects for medical purposes. The mother of a beneficed clergyman, a native of Sadberge, informed me that for an entire week she had stood in the porch of the Norman Church watching for body-snatchers. This watch-tower commanded the entire graveyard in 1830. The motive was mercenary, and we simply record the fact that the practice was not unknown in Sadberge.

Briefs. I have a small book with this heading: "*Briefs* received at Sadberge, Co. Durham, from 1804 to 1818." It refers to ecclesiastical matters over one hundred years ago.

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What is a Brief? "It may be said to correspond in some respects to a Writ of Privy Seal, as distinguished from Letters Patent of the Crown." *

"Roman Briefs are Pontifical letters from the Court at Rome, sealed in red wax with the fisherman's ring. Briefs in the Prayer Book signify the Sovereign's Letters Patent, authorising a *collection* for charitable purposes." † They were to be read along with Parish Notices, after the Nicene Creed.

Briefs were very general in the seventeenth century, and mention is made in many Parish Registers.

This Brief book of Sadberge, was kept in the 1662 Register, but unattached, and its date is 1804 to 1813.

"The process was inconvenient and costly, and Acts were passed (in Anne and George IV) to improve them. Briefs may still be issued by the Crown, but none have been issued *since* 1854." † This Sadberge Brief covers nine years, and why it should contain the names of churches in nearly every part of England, I cannot explain, for the Wapontake and Manor of Sadberge did not extend south beyond the Humber. It contains the names of ninety-eight churches, and if the Brief was a Royal appeal for aid to parishes suffering from fire or other calamity, it is very surprising how few parishes responded. The largest contribution is 5s., and the lowest one penny! Amongst the churches named are: Alderley (Chester), Grindleton (Ripon), Marsden, Wibsey (Ripon), Eastham (Chester), Coley (Wakefield), Buxton, Church Kirk, Elton (Durham), Luddenham, Child Harold (Hereford), Darlaston (Lichfield), Bishopton (Durham), Littleborough (Manchester), Pudsey, Ellel, Middlewich, St. Helen's (Durham), Haworth, Audlem, Frodesley, Orpington, Great Malvern, Riseholme (Lincoln), Heysham, Hatherton, Fewston, Kingston, Wroxall, Staines, Dawlish (intimidation), Barnacre (fire), Adderley Church, Lower Wyresdale (fire), Great Burstead (fire). The appeal is generally on account of damage by *fire*. The results are meagre and illustrate how *Parochialism* infests the Church, instead of *all being one body*, the weak aiding the strong. Who kept this Brief, and who remitted these small sums, is not recorded; probably the Wardens, for it was amongst the Wardens' accounts; and, small as the book is, it is a *curiosity*. St. Paul's injunction is: "Not to look on our own things, but the things of others." This Sadberge Brief is a sad example how parochialism destroys beneficence and contracts parishes.

* Christian Antiq. † Hook's Dictionary.

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Sadberge Freeholders in 1684.

Sir Thomas Pennyman, Bart. This family purchased the estate of the Bukke family. George Buck, whose will was proved in 1711, being the last member of this famous Sadberge family, and Bailiff of Sadberge in 1580, Keeper of the Gaol and Mareschall. The name "Buck" will live in Sadberge by the Charity which bears the family name, "Buck's Charity," and by the "Buck Inn" on the village green, which belonged to the family. Some suppose "Buck Inn" refers to an animal, but it simply perpetuates the family of Buck, once the principal landowners in Sadberge.

Robert Casson. He owned lands in Newbiggen.

Thomas Garmondsway. A famous family, linked with Sadberge as landowners, bailiffs, churchwardens.

Robert Allan.
Ralph Middleton.
Richard Pemberton.

We bracket the three because they are linked by property and marriage. All three names are frequent in the 1662 Register. The Pembertons resided at Aislaby, across the Tees. William Pemberton, who was born January 8th, 1718, practised as a surgeon at Plymouth. His son, William, by devise of his cousin, John Killinghall, succeeded to the Lordship and Manor of Middleton St. George. The Killinghalls held this property prior to 1400. This William Pemberton died at Middleton St. George, March 11th, 1801. He left his estates to his maternal *Aunt*, a member of the "*Cocks*" family, of Plymouth. His heir-at-law was George Allan, M.P. He disputed Pemberton's will, and an action was brought in 1806 to invalidate it; the result was to establish the will and confirm the Cocks family in the Killinghall property at Middleton St. George. On the death of Squire Cocks, of Middleton Hall, the Killinghall estates were sold. The petition asking King Charles II to return in 1661 was signed by a *Killinghall*, also by William Barnes, and Elizabeth Barnes gave the shag cloth for Sadberge pulpit, and Edward Surtees was her son-in-law, and she was the wife of John Bucke, of Sadberge, gentleman, who died in Darlington, in the house of Edward Surtees, and was buried June 17th, 1657.

We have given this family history because these families, Pemberton and Middleton, so frequently occur in the old registers of Sadberge. A member of the Middleton family, in the time of Queen Elizabeth, was confined in Sadberge Gaol as a *Recusant*. The Recusant Act was passed in

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Queen Elizabeth's time, and all persons who refused to take the oath of loyalty to her were confined to prison, and many were left there to die. Dissenters were relieved in 1689, and it was finally repealed 1844. A member of the Middletons refused to take the oath, and was confined in Sadberge Gaol, which Roman authorities describe as underground, filthy and dark. Here she gave birth to a child, and, unfortunately, mother and child died. This was not the only Recusant placed in Sadberge Gaol, for in 1597 Sir Richard Claxton, Bart., left Thomas Wycliffe, "*now a prisoner in Sadberge Gaol,*" one silver spoon and 5s. in money.

In this list of Freeholders we record a strange fact. In Bishop Hatfield's Registers, about 1350, more than 200 years before Queen Elizabeth, is this entry: "Sacristan Dunelm holds placeam called Laudem Dei, and pays 2s. at the Feast of S. Cuthbert." He was really a Copyholder, not Freeholder.

We resume *Freeholders in Sadberge.*

Thomas Reed (Yarm).

James Nelthorp (Little Burdon). This was the property confiscated by Thos. Cromwell, which had passed into lay hands, and now is held by the Duncombe Edens, Beamish Park.

Richard Garmondsway. He voted as a Freeholder in 1761, and his heirs hold his estate.

Sir Wm. Blackett, Bart., at this date the principal landowner in Morton Palms.

John Harrison.
Thomas Harrison.
Francis Harrison.

These were yeomen at Newbiggin, and John was the founder of the family. Thomas was his son, and Francis his grandson. Thomas, in the thirty-eighth year of Elizabeth, held one messuage in Sadberge, alias "*Sadberge on the Hill.*" Francis was in possession of the Harrison estate in 1638, and he received £10,000 as a dowry with his wife. The Harrisons were yeomen, farming their own lands. We regret to record their decay and oblivion. The last Harrison at Newbiggen left sons, who put in practice the adage, "Come easy, go easy"; and they acted as if wealth could never be exhausted. Any fool can inherit, yet it requires a wise man to retain and improve his inheritance, and it is sad to record that the last male died in extreme poverty, and sleeps, with his ancestors, in an unknown grave in Sadberge, in its ancient God's acre.

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Britain. In Part I we described the Roman Camp and Street which led through Sadberge. Since writing Part I, we have seen a map of Britain when in Roman occupation, and we give its information here. From this map it appears that *both* Watling Street and Rynkneild Street start from London. At Durolipons, Watling Street branches off north-west, whilst Rynkneild Street proceeds direct north, through Lindum-Caractrimum, over Pountey's Bridge, direct to Sadberge, and on to Newcastle-on-Tyne.

Between Pountey's Bridge and Sadberge is *Castlelarium*, standing on the hill from the Bridge on the Street, and now bears the name Tower Hill. A lane, with fences on each side, called Pountey's Lane, is shown on this map. In the field, further north, belonging to Sadberge Hall, two feet from the surface of the Street, or Roman Rynkneild road, traces were found, and these remains were of *Tees-worked stones*. Further north, about half-a-mile from Sadberge, further traces of this Roman road have been found.

(i) In widening a large culvert about half-a-mile from Sadberge, which runs under the highway, further traces of the Street were found.

(ii) *Street* House Farm derives its name from the fact that it stands on Rynkneild Street, the Roman road running north.

(iii) In forming a garden at the Rectory remains of this road were found, and *hard to remove*, inside the Rectory hedge at Sadberge.

In returning to antiquity, *Hutchinson* adds: "In Henry II, his 12th year (1166), returns of military service within the Bishop's jurisdiction, it is observable that in the Wapontake or Earldom of Sadberge there are *No* Knights, the most powerful are Baliol, Brus, Tailbois. This is proof that the royal grants to the See did not anciently extend between Tyne and Tees."*

CHARTER granted by *Richard I, in* 1189, to Bishop Pudsey:—

> Richardus, &c. Sciatis nos dedisse & concessisse & presenti carta confirmasse Deo & beato Cuthberto & Ecclesiæ & Hugoni Dunelm Epix, ... Manerium nostrum de Sadberge, cum Wapentagiis ad idem manerium pertinentibus, & cum omnibus aliis rebus ad illud pertinentibus . . . . . quare volum & præcipum quod prædict, Hugo Epix & successores sui præd duo feuda militum & duas partes fœdi unius militis cum præd manerio d' Sadberge & Wapentagiis (sicut prædictum est) teneant, habeant & possideant libere, quiete & honorifice, cum omnibus rebus ad ea pertinentibus, in bosco & plano, cum socha & sacha & toll &

* Vol. I, p. 209.

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theum & infang theif & cum omnibus aliis libertatibus & liberis consuetudinibus, & cum placitis ad coronam pertinentibus, sicut nos nostro in propia manu nostra habenius & sicut ipse epix habet & tenet alias terras suas & feoda militum in Episcopatu suo : . . . . . Hiis testibus Baldwino Cantuar, Gualtero Rothomag' & Johan' Dublin, Archiepiscopis, Regin', Bathon', Hugone Lincoln, Johan' Norwich, Williel Wigorn', Hugone Coventr', Selcido Cicestr', Gilbert Roffen', Johan' Oxon Episcopis ; Dom Johan fratie Dom Regis, Williel d' Mandevill comite d' Essex, Robert comite d' Leicester, Hamelino comite d' Waren, Gualerano comite d' Warwick, Williel' comite d' Arundale, Richardo comite d' Claro, Williel' comite de Salisbur, Dat anno 1 regno nostri 18 die Decembris apud Gaitamount per manum Williel' d' Longo Campo Cancellarii nostri 1189.

"In 1199, Hugh, Bishop of Durham, owed Richard I. 1000 marks for the County or Earldom of Northumberland, and 600 marks for the exchange of Sadberge."*

* Mag. Rot. 10, R.I. Rot. 10 a tot Northumb. Baronen Angl. 158, see Hut. vol. i, p. 215.

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CHAPTER X.

Sadberge School.

Previously we have dealt with the ancient in elementary education, and now we turn to the modern.

It was in 1799 that the School was erected. It stood at the south-east corner of its ancient graveyard. Amongst elementary schools in the Diocese of Durham probably it is a very early one. Grammar Schools were founded centuries earlier. This Sadberge School was erected sixty years before it was a parish, and its Minister was *Thomas Moreland*, who exercised his vocation from 1760 to 1800—a serious portion of life. He must have superintended its erection, and he only survived one year after it was opened.

His successor was *Matthew Henderson*, who, for thirteen years, was Minister at Sadberge. He has left proof that he loved details, in his *Pedigree* Register, but its requirements were such that no successor continued it; however, the oversight of Sadberge School would offer scope for his love of details.

As far as I know, no plan of this 1799 School exists.

Its erection is proof that the Church of England practised the injunction: "Feed My lambs." Her devotion to this duty is evident, for when Mr. Forster introduced his Bill, in 1870, it is said that seventy-five per cent. of elementary schools belonged to the Church of England. The essence of her teaching was her "*Catechism*." Here is the substance of the Faith once delivered:—

> Duty to God, Duty to our Neighbour, in the *Commandments*; *The* Christian Faith, in the *Apostles' Creed*; The need of Divine Aid, the *Lord's Prayer*; and the Divine Food instituted by her Lord and Head, in the two Sacraments.

This first School at Sadberge made this religious teaching a principal, and not a secondary matter. May we not regard the belief that "an Englishman's word is his bond" as the product of this teaching? May we not trace the prevalence of juvenile crime, and the need of Juvenile Police Courts, to the fact that for years our elementary

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education has made religious teaching—children's duty to God and their neighbours—a secondary, and not primary principle in education? The bogey of Dogma—fear of unpopularity—has resulted in a fearful increase of juvenile crime, through lack of moral fibre.

There is a story of a certain Bishop who feared the unpopularity of walking behind a Processional Cross, whereupon the Vicar suggested the alteration of the line: "With the Cross of Jesus, going on before," to "With the Cross of Jesus, left behind the door." So this Dogma bogey has left the Christian's duty *behind* the door!

In 1920 we are reaping the sad results of dethroning religious teaching as a first principle in our schools. Children trained without any idea of their duty to God and their neighbours, the adult practises the teaching: "Do as little as you can, and get as much as you can for doing it."

I am not blind to the defects of education in the past, yet it taught a sense of duty to God and to our neighbours, for which we must thank God. Schools like this, in 1799 at Sadberge, inculcated duty to God and our neighbour as an essential part of training, to which England owes much.

As no plans exist, we are unable to describe this first School at Sadberge. Winchester is famous amongst the Public Schools. Its motto, "Manners maketh man," is not less so. Strange to say, this Sadberge School of 1799 had its "*Motto.*" We can only guess who composed it. The Minister was a Graduate and we think he was its author. Inside the School door was painted:—

"*Optimissima Vitæ Eligito*
Nam consuetudo facit Jucundissimus."

We give a *free* translation of this motto:—

"*Choose the noblest pursuit in life,*
For habit will produce the happiest results."

This motto was an object-lesson, and it taught an eternal truth: "What a man sows, *that* shall he also reap"; or the well-known proverb: "Virtue brings its own reward." This teaching "through the eye" Bede strongly urged, and Benedict Biscop put it into practice in the church which he built in the seventh century. Whoever composed and placed this motto in Sadberge School knew the value and power of teaching through the eye.

This first School was in use up to 1868, when it was superseded by the existing School.

In 1868, Bulmer, a Darlington builder, removed the erection of 1799, the only conditions being:—

(i) He had to build a wall at the south-east corner of the churchyard;

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(ii) To make a path to the Parson's Vestry, approached by steps.

When he had done *this*, the School was *his*. He seems to have had a *Reversionary* interest in the antiquities of Sadberge. In 1882 the Church authorities presented him with the old Norman Church; and we have recorded how he desecrated it. Now, in 1868, he is given the old School!

On careful examination of the boundary wall, at the south-east corner of the graveyard, you may find a *few* ancient stones. Yet not a trace remains of this first Sadberge School. I only know one relic remaining, and that is a photograph of the Schoolmaster, who combined the office of Parish Clerk with that of Schoolmaster; it was on the *Vestry* wall. Time and circumstances have assigned the School to oblivion, and few residents in Sadberge can point out its site.

On one of the stones in this south-east wall, built by Bulmer in 1868, can be found, "*C & M & a Cross.*" Where did he find it?

I am indebted to my predecessor, the Rev. R. M. Moorsom, for information which he has carefully recorded in a MS. book. He says: "The founders of the School, in 1799, intended it as a Religious place of training, the Catechism being regularly taught, being built and endowed for this purpose, as a distinctly Church School, and its Minister to have sole control." He adds: "In building the old School, directions were made by which £100 was spent in purchasing £92 7s. 6d. 5 per cent. Stock. This sum appears as £108 11s. Navy 5 per cents. in 1805; later as New 4 per cents.; and in 1859 as 3½ per cents.; in 1862 as £118 19s. 6d."

In 1817 Mrs. Dobree gave £10 to the Rector of Haughton, and this £10 he had to lay out as he might judge most proper for the advantage of Sadberge School. In 1818 she gave him £30. At this date, the idea was that Sadberge was a Chapel of Ease to Haughton Church. In 1848 this £40 appears as reduced to £20. In 1862 Sadberge was Endowed as a parish, and the Rector of Haughton, in handing over to the Rev. R. M. Moorsom, the first Rector of Sadberge, £20 in place of £40, said: "Dr. Bandinel took £20 from this sum to pay the liabilities of the School, and to free it from all encumbrances."

Here we must leave Mrs. Dobree's benefaction of £40. All the parties concerned are no more; the grave makes no revelations, restitutions or apologies. We leave the matter here, that Mrs. Dobree gave Sadberge School £40, and the new Rector of Sadberge only receives £20.

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The existing Sadberge School was built in 1866-7. The architects were Messrs. Austin & Johnson, Newcastle; contractors, Messrs. Robinson, Sedgefield. About quarter of an acre of land was given by Captain Pennyman. It was enfranchised by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners *gratis*. The cost of this School was £580 12s. 8d. It was erected before Mr. Forster's Education Act, 1870. The large room had accommodation for 55.8 children; the large class-room had accommodation for 20.9 infants.

The cost seems to have been £7 12s. 7½d. per head of the accommodation, a large figure in 1866. Experts in school building will say that someone profiteered. This need surprise no one. Architects in Newcastle-on-Tyne were supposed to supervise the work, so contractors were left much to their will. When it is considered that the land was *given*, and that the School cost £7 12s. 7½d. per head, when wages were low and materials cheap, the cost, we say, was excessive. The cost of the Rectory is a proof that little business capacity existed in those who managed these matters. As the architects, and those who provided the money and spent it are gone, we leave the matter. Yet this School, which provided accommodation only for seventy-six children, cost £580 12s. 8d. This is not a presumption, but stern fact—£7 12s. 7½d. *per child.*

How was this £580 12s. 8d. raised?	£	s.	d.
(i) By the sale of *School Stock*	287	0	9
The following stocks were sold:— £ s. d.			
(*a*) Mrs. Dobree's Gift (*in 3 P.C.*) 21 13 2			
(*b*) New 3 P. 113 19 6			
(*c*) Consols 150 0 0			
Stocks *Nominal* Value ... £285 12 8			

In October, 1866, the Charity Commissioners sold this £285 12s. 8d., and realised £287 0s. 9d. The rest was raised as follows:—

(ii) Government Grant	98	0	0
(iii) Durham Diocesan Society *Grant* ...	25	0	0
(iv) National Society *Grant*	25	0	0
(v) Mr. J. D. Eden *subscribed* ...	70	0	0
(vi) Captain Pennyman „ ...	15	0	0
(vii) The Rev. R. M. Moorsom „ ...	27	0	0
(viii) The Bishop of Durham „ ...	10	0	0
(ix) Mr. W. A. Wooler „ ...	10	0	0
(x) Brasenose College „ ...	10	0	0
(xi) Stockton & Darlington Railway ...	10	0	0
Total Subscriptions ...	£582	0	9

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The new School cost £580 12s. 8d. The sale of Stock belonging to the School realised £287 0s. 9d.; Subscriptions amounted to £295 0s. 0d. The total from Stocks and Subscriptions amounts to £582 0s. 9d. This leaves a *deficit of* £48. How this was liquidated, there is no record. If we may judge from experience, the new Rector would be left to deal with it, or struggle with it, or pay it. Oblivion surrounds this £48, and time covers it with her mantle. *Irrecoverable! In pace!*

The Trust Deed of Sadberge School is the ordinary one of the National Society: "To the Minister and Chapel Wardens" and appoints them as *ex-officio* members of the Managers' Committee, along with four others, and they are its Trustees. It is the customary deed of the *National* Society for educating the children of the poor in the principles of the Church of England. It was signed September, 1865, enrolled in the Chancery Court, November 18th, 1865, and is, or was, kept in the iron safe in the Parson's Vestry in Sadberge Church.

The new School was well built, had ample playground, and met all the requirements of Mr. Forster's Education Act, 1870. The population of Sadberge was not increasing, and no one expected that an enlargement would be required by the Educational authorities at Whitehall. Unexpectedly they issued a new regulation requiring a space of 10 *feet* per child instead of 8 feet, consequently an enlargement of Sadberge School was a necessity.

It was well known that the Durham Council Education authorities desired Universal Council Schools. The last surrender I should make in a Parish would be the *School*. The Master's command to the Apostles was positive: "Feed My lambs." To me this is above Whitehall authorities, or Durham County Council regulations.

My health had suffered during my twenty-four years in the Parish, and a distinguished specialist said to me: "You must take rest or you will get it." This dictum was confirmed by two other Medicals, both Fellows of the Royal College of Surgeons. All three were agreed that *resignation* must be faced, or my life would be short. I knew not who would succeed me, and I had a strong suspicion that if I wished to preserve the Church School in Sadberge, the requirements of the authorities must be met. Events have more than justified these fears.

(i) I called a meeting of *Parishioners* in Sadberge School, February 3rd, 1911, to consider the requirements of the Board of Education. All agreed that it was desirable that the Parish should avoid a Council School, since it would have to bear a considerable

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part of the expense in the erection of a new school. It was not surprising that no one offered substantial financial aid.

(ii) I invited Mr. Pennyman to the Rectory. It was the *old* practice (a bad one) that the monies must be found by the landlords and the Church. Mr. Pennyman generously agreed to put the matter before the landlords, and I was to have a free hand outside the landlords. Mr. Pennyman also agreed to give any land that was required for the enlargement. As to how we succeeded, please read Statement of Accounts on page 275, put forth in 1913, without any name.

I here wish to record the services rendered to the Church and Schools by Mr. E. J. Smith, Brandon House, Haughton, in drawing plans for the South Porch of the Church, and in rendering valuable and gratuitous services in our difficulties with regard to the School. Mr. Smith carefully measured out the land required for the enlargement, and made a plan, which the managers approved. This I took to the Durham County Council, to discuss and arrange.

Its clerk thus saluted me: "It is no use you trying to save Sadberge School, for it is lost."

Astonished that a salaried servant should be so autocratic, I replied: "It is not lost whilst I am Rector, and not afterwards if I can prevent it."

It was not a surprise to me that the Durham Council refused to approve our plans. It had striven to force Universal Council Schools, but it is no small mercy that in these days of autocracy neither clerks, nor their County Councils, are Acts of Parliament. "*Necessitas non legem noscit*," so other means had to be used.

A lifelong friend, an expert in education, wise in the ways of Whitehall administration, was consulted. He said: "Get your managers to pass a resolution, deputing me to represent them. Then forward me your proposed plan, and I will interview the Whitehall authorities." He was a *persona grata* at Whitehall, and Chairman of an important educational authority. The result was an *approved* plan, which required no additional land, and a very great improvement on our plans. We were notified that if we sent up plans in accordance with the arrangements made, the authorities at Whitehall would affix their stamp, "Approved."

Mr. Smith again rendered the School a service by drawing new plans according to the arrangements. They were sent up to London. The Education Department returned them

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as " Approved," and Sadberge School to-day is proof of the excellent alterations and enlargements effected.

I do not suppose that the Durham County Council, or its clerk, ever *saw* the approved plans. " All's well that ends well," and in this case it is true, for the *continuance* of the School was doubtful.

My health led me to resign June 30th, 1911. Approved plans had been secured, and Mr. Pennyman and myself had provided means to carry out the plans. I had nothing to do with the enlargement, beyond helping to provide the finances; OTHERS had to carry out the approved plans.

Statement of the Cost of the Enlargement. I do not know who issued this Statement. It is dated March 20th, 1918, and signed " Herbert Clayton. Audited and found correct." This gentleman is unknown to me; and neither Rector nor Wardens have signed it, though they are, *ex officio*, the *Trustees* of the School. Perhaps a sense of modesty led them to withhold their names, for it testifies how certain landlords and the parson found the monies and saved the pockets of the parishioners. We give a *copy* of this Statement:—

INCOME.	£	s.	d.
J. W. Pennyman, Esq.	54	5	0
The Rev. W. L. Taylor	40	0	0
Mr. Davison (proceeds of Whist Drive in 1910)	10	11	11
Diocesan Board ..	20	0	0
Betton's Charity ..	20	0	0
Ecclesiastical Commissioners	5	0	0
Local Subscriptions..	2	14	0
Lenten Boxes ..	2	0	0
Lantern Lecture ..	3	1	0
Bank Interest ..	0	7	6
	£157	19	5

EXPENDITURE.	£	s.	d.
Mr. Atkinson, Contractor	126	7	6
Messrs. Sykes	4	3	6
Mr. Grey	0	8	0
Bricks	17	0	0
Clerk of Works ..	5	0	0
Printing	0	4	6
Stamps	0	4	0
Contract Form ..	0	1	0
Balance	4	10	11
	£157	19	5

This Statement of the cost of enlarging Sadberge School is dated March 20th, 1918. This is nearly two years after my resignation. It is remarkable in many senses:—

(i) It bears *no* signature of either the Rector or Wardens, who are, *ex officio*, Trustees and Managers of the School, and only bears the Auditor's signature.

(ii) It shows that in an expenditure of £157 19s. 5d. the landlords and Rector provided £139. The landlords of *Sadberge*, through Mr. Pennyman, raised £44, and Mr. Eden, representing *Morton Palms*, subscribed £10, making £54 as the contribution of the landlords. Items in this Statement

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representing £50, added to the £40, show the Parson's assistance to the fund. It is an unpleasant feature that whenever it was necessary to raise money, the practice was to appeal to the landlords and the Rector. This Statement shows that in this enlargement, in 1913, the landlords and Rector bore the burden.

(iii) *The item of* £10 11s. 11d. The explanation of this singular item is as follows: After the public meeting before named, to raise funds for enlarging the School, I was asked, as its Trustee, to allow its use for a whist drive. No charge was made, because it was agreed that the sum raised should be devoted to the *School Enlargement Fund.* It was never handed over to me, although I was Rector at the time, nor ever *paid* into the bank account, to the Enlargement Fund. I presume that my successor declined to be a financial reservoir, and threatened a County School if it was not handed over. So, to avoid having additional rates, they paid £10 11s. 11d.; the principal £10 they had held *since* 1910, a year before my resignation, and eleven shillings and elevenpence *interest.*

(iv) According to this Statement, local subscriptions show £2 14s. I refer to this because it is a proof that the duty of self-help scarcely exists.

I am speaking from an experience of twenty-four years. In 1887 I found a well-built Church, on a very commanding site, exposed to all weathers, its walls black with damp. It possessed neither spouting nor troughing to carry off the water. I pointed out to the Wardens the need of troughing and spouting. One was a well-to-do farmer, who, at his death, left £8,000; the other had been in office thirty-five years, and his family held Wardens' accounts dating back to 1743! They were typical of the atmosphere of Sadberge for years. Their reply to the request of helping to provide spouting and troughing was: "The Church is built on sand, and the rain gets away, and your proposal means a waste of money." I replied that the black walls disproved their theory. I expended, in providing spouting and cementing the building and overhauling the slating, £50. In 1887 there was very little idea of self-help.

This Statement proves that my example of expending on the Church over £1,200 had not been taken to heart, for, in 1913, £2 14s. is returned as "*local*" subscriptions in an expenditure of £157 19s.

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There is a very common idea that *self-help* in parochial Church matters is unnecessary, because the Church in the Diocese of Durham is wealthy. This is not peculiar to the poor, but you find it amongst all classes. A parson who tries to raise money for the Church will soon hear this objection, yet people forget that these resources are not available for parish purposes, since they are held in *trust* for special purposes.

This return of local subscriptions as £2 14s. does *not* surprise me: "*Experientia docet.*" Any parishioner who reads these lines will, I trust, believe they are the words of a friend. If they are unpleasant, I can only point out that personal happiness is not gained by mere selfish acquisition, but in learning that very mystic and seldom practised philosophy: "It is more blessed to give than to receive." "Give, and it shall be given you, good measure, pressed down, running over," etc. Such is the teaching of the Teacher sent from God—Jesus Christ.

(v) A *Balance* of £4 10s. 11d. is shown. This Statement is dated 1918, nearly two years after I resigned. I notice £5 was paid to a Clerk of Works, and yet £4 10s. 11d. remained. I do not know who the Committee were, yet they were administering moneys which *outsiders* provided. Mr. Smith rendered valuable services by preparing three sets of plans. Why was he not entrusted to carry out the one approved by the Department? The Managers had a balance of £4 10s. 11d. Why not have recognized his services by an honorarium? To me, their conduct is inexplicable. I only record *facts*. My one comfort is that a *Church* School was secured for the parish.

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CHAPTER XI.

Sadberge School Charities.

Pallister's Charity. James Pallister, the owner of Little Burdon Farm, at his death, February 15th, 1859, left £100, free from legacy duty, to his executors, to invest the same in Parliamentary Stocks or Funds of Great Britain, in the names of the Rector of Haughton, and *Incumbent* of Sadberge, to be applied by him in such manner as he shall think proper for the benefit of the School, which shall, for the time being, be connected with Sadberge Church. Such are the terms of the will.

However, in 1885, Pallister's Charity had been included in the Charity Commissioners' Scheme for Sadberge Charities. It was an *Ecclesiastical* Charity, and, as Rector, I laid the facts before the Charity Commissioners.

They replied: "The Trustees of Sadberge Charities can hand over the dividends of Pallister's as they receive them, to the Rector."

This was the practice when I was Rector. The Trustees handed the dividends to me, and they were used for Sunday School purposes.

If the story given to me by a member of Sadberge Choir, in the *Norman* Church, is true, Mr. Pallister's life is a *romance*.

"He came to Little Burdon Farm in search of employment, when, I think, Mr. Jackson was the owner and farmer of Little Burdon. He was so impressed by the appearance and manner of the man, that he engaged him to work on the farm. Pallister so won his master's confidence that he was made hind and manager. Mr. Jackson, in his will, made Pallister his heir. Thus property at Whessoe, Darlington, Sadberge, and Red Marshall passed to Pallister, and he became owner of Little Burdon Farm, containing about 500 acres of land."

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Little Burdon Farm is one of the *historic* farms in Sadberge. Originally held by the Monks of Durham, when they founded the Community at Neasham, they vested the farm in this religious house for women. Thomas Cromwell, in the 16th century, confiscated the farm and its tithe. Thus it passed into lay hands, and now is owned by the Edens, of Beamish Park, and it is the *only* farm in the Parish of Sadberge that pays no tithe, because Henry VIII stole the tithe. I always found the Eden family foremost in assisting all efforts for Church, School or the endowment of the benefice. Probably the Edens purchased Little Burdon Farm after the death of Mr. Pallister in 1859.

It is to be noted that in 1859 Sadberge was a Conventional District, and not a distinct Parish, hence the will names "the Rector of Haughton," and there was no Rector of Sadberge, but an *Incumbent*.

Midland Railway Debenture, £100. Some time prior to my resignation, I bought one debenture of £100 in the Midland Railway Co., paying 2½ per cent. interest, which with Pallister's would yield £5 per annum. I was anxious to secure, permanently, a *Sunday* School for the Parish. I therefore tried to form a *permanent* Trust, and a deed was drawn by the Diocesan Registrar.

My instructions were: (1) There should be *three* Trustees. (2) All three should be *officials* holding offices which never die, viz.: (1) The *Archdeacon* of Auckland; (2) The *Vicar* of Darlington; (3) The Registrar of the Diocese of Durham. As I thought, I conveyed this £100 Debenture to these three *officials*, and thus formed a *permanent* Trust.

When Archdeacon Price died I discovered that his successor was *not* a Trustee. In addition, I discovered that three *names* of individuals, and not three officials, were in the deed.

Thus my intention was frustrated, and if my experience leads the Durham Diocesan authorities to form a Diocesan "*Finance* Board," as exists in Manchester Diocese, good will come to the *Diocese* from this miscarriage.

In my last Parish I purchased Bonds bringing an annual income of £4 17s. 6d., and invested them in the Manchester Board of Finance, as a "*Repair* Fund" for the Parish School, and, although the County Council has closed the School, on the ground of *insufficient* playground, this benefaction is in *existence* as a Repair Fund.

Life is a teacher, and my Sadberge experience will cause me *not* to trust in lawyers, for I have found there is no help in them, but much worry and expense. However, I cherish the hope that the financial condition of Sadberge Sunday

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School is permanently secured, but I must leave the future. Its Elementary School, Acts of Parliament secure.

I trust these two Charities will secure a Sadberge Sunday School for ages, but I am no longer Rector, and must leave this benefaction for others to protect.

Sadberge School Library. The Parish has a Village Library, for which it should be proud and grateful to the Rev. R. M. Moorsom and Mr. Pennyman. These gentlemen not merely founded the Library, but provided a handsome bookcase for its preservation.

It was founded in 1862, and these gentlemen sent £10 to the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge and the Religious Tract Society, and the two Societies made grants of books, which, I can testify, abound with solid information.

Miss Richmond was honorary librarian until she removed to Staindrop; she attended to the covering, binding, and giving out of the books. Her successor, Miss Graham, for many years acted as librarian, repairer, and diligent guardian of its interests.

In 1868 this Library possessed 484 volumes. They were not trashy novels, but solid books of information. My great regret was that so few made use of it. *Nothing* was paid for using the Library, and, as a rule, persons seldom value what costs them nothing. I determined in 1890, assisted by Miss Graham and Mr. Bolton, that we would thoroughly repair and put in order this valuable collection of books, and draw up new rules. During this revision I found that it had nearly 700 volumes. The new rules required a payment for using the Library. I discovered that some took *several* volumes at *once*, and were slow to return them, and some used them unfairly and all paid nothing. We drew up rules.

I give the new rules:—

(i) For the loan of one work, 1d. *per month.*
(ii) Books lent for 14 days, if kept longer without renewal a fine of 1d. per week must be paid.
(iii) Fines will be imposed for damaging or soiling books. All monies received will be devoted to the repair and purchasing of new books.
(iv) Breaking the rules forfeits the right to have books.
(v) Attendance will be given on Saturdays, in the School, from 2 to 3 o'clock p.m.

The Rev. W. L. TAYLOR, M.A., *Rector.*
Miss GRAHAM, *Librarian.*

It is to be hoped that the parishioners will use this valuable Library.

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CHAPTER XII.

Conclusion.

When I first entered on the duties of Rector of Sadberge I had not the remotest idea that it was a place with a *History*.

Outward appearances, to a pedestrian as he passes through it, show no signs of its ancient past. It possesses no buildings that point to its antiquity. Indeed no relics of the past appear; they are only found after careful search. There might have been an agreement amongst its custodians that all ancient signs and relics of its hoary past should be destroyed. The fact is, that its ancient Church, dating back to 1266, with remains of a previous Saxon church, was actually *given away*, and £10 added to the gift! When we consider this vandalism, we need not wonder that its ancient relics are invisible. The truth is, that the *past* of Sadberge requires careful search, both in probable and improbable places, since the Saxon relics of its ancient Church were found in the kitchen of an obscure inn in Darlington.

What is true of its *ancient* buildings is equally true of its past *history:* it must be carefully sought, or it will never be found. No Surtees or Hutchinson has taken the trouble to write its past, and give it permanency.

I confess that in the composition of this book I have understood why its History has never been attempted. The labour it has entailed would deter most men from undertaking the task. So fragmentary and scattered is its recorded past, that to bring it, fragmentary as it is, into this book has absorbed the greater part of twenty years, and since 1911 it may be said that it has absorbed all my time.

In Parts I and II, I had the valuable help of my eldest son, to whose care it owes much; but on November 12th, 1918, a loving Father admitted him to the higher and more perfect life.

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Part III has been written under the burden of this heavy loss, which to me is irreparable. In addition to this, I carry the burden of being in my eightieth year. May I ask readers kindly to consider these facts when reading it?

The book may be regarded as "*patchwork.*" It has laid many and various sources under tribute, and it is truly Ancient and Modern. It covers a period of more than 1,500 years, so it is not surprising that the information is fragmentary, but it is a wonder that any exists; and such as I have gathered, I give. This has added to the labour of collecting information, and the absence of authorities is indeed a remarkable fact. I have never been able to find any authoritative book giving the past of historic Sadberge.

My aim has been to present, in a connected (if not artistic) form, a plain and reliable story of the long and hoary past as it relates to this obscure and little-known village in South Durham. It is an attempt to rescue the place from the oblivion into which it has fallen, and to restore it to its ancient position as being the seat and centre of government and the administration of justice long *before* "the ancient and loyal city" on the Wear came into existence. Here will be found a collection of historic facts, both very ancient, dusty and musty with age, and also very modern facts.

The book was begun whilst Rector for twenty-four years, and I had little idea of the task. In 1911 I began to put the materials together, and it has fully occupied me. Here, I trust, is in a permanent form what may be known of the *past* of Sadberge.

I shall be amply repaid if this book rescues historic Sadberge from its neglect and oblivion, and if I succeed in restoring it to its *historic* place in the county of Durham. Although it is not a city, yet through the ages it has retained one ancient dignity, namely, of being a "*County in itself,*" and when the County Assize is summoned in the modern city on the Wear, the "*County of Sadberge*" is also summoned to the Assize—a modern proof of the antiquity and dignity of *historic Sadberge*, the hill where the Saxons swore allegiance to the Lord of the Wapontake, and paid their "Sac" and "Soc."

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